THE REGALL APOLOGY:

OR,

The DECLARATION of the *Commons*, *Feb.* 11. 1647. Canvaſſed.

WHEREIN

Every *Objection*, and their whole *Charge* againſt His Majeſty is *cleared*, and for the moſt part, *retorted*.

Eccleſ. 10. 20.

Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought.

Hoſea 10. 3, 4.

For now they ſhall ſay, We have no King, becauſe we feared not the Lord, what then ſhould a King do to us?

They have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſly, in making a Covenant.

Prov. 28. 2.

For the iniquity of a land, many are the Princes thereof.

Printed in the yeare, 1648.

THE REGAL APOLOGY:

OR

The DECLARATION of the Commons, Feb. 11. 1647. Canvassed.

WHEREIN

Every Objection, and their whole Charge against His Majesty is cleared, and for their most part retorted.

The PREFACE.

THis hath been an Accuſative *age in* England; *and the* Prince of Darkneſſe *was never more imitated by us in that* Epither, *notwithſtanding* our new lights. *Yet for the moſt part, our* Accuſations *have been but like the crackling of thornes under a pot: And our* Accuſers *like the* Mountaines, *which ſwelled into that bulke, as it ſummon'd the expectation of the world, and were delivered of a poore* Mouſe. *You cannot name us many* Charges *which either have not been quite withdrawn, or ſunk into a lower ſtreame. Pray what* Delinquent *(as they terme them) Abate us but the Tragedie of* Strafford *and* Canterbury, *with the* Hothams, *and a very few more who fell in a fit of Juſtice, and were ſacrificed to Revenge and Paſſion) hath been brought to a Period commenſurate to his Charge?*

How did the Impeachment of the Judges *ecchо through the kingdome? yet ſome of the chief were not only permitted to ſit on thoſe Chaires, which it was pretended they d'd proſtitute, but offer'd Preferment alſo. What a terrible Mouth was opened upon the twelve Proteſting* Biſhops? *yet the turn being ſerv'd, and the Votes againſt their whole Order paſſed in the Houſe, they were not onely acquitted of their*

Charge, but also dismiss'd from Custody. How high ran the Tyde once against the Monopolists? *what ease from other Burdens did not the People believe they should have, by the squeezing of those swolne Spunges? yet who among them hath received the measure of his Desert? Nay, which of them, that would nimbly dance after the Pipe of his great Accusers, hath not been even hugg'd in their Bosome, protected from the lawfull Attempts of injur'd and oppressed Subjects? What Haranges have been made against* evill Counsellors? *How was the Kingdome born in hand, with hopes of some exemplary Punishment upon, or some severe Admonition at the least unto them? And yet name but one single* Privy-Counsellor *ever questioned for ill advice formerly given to the* King. *Of late, what a Charge was layd against the* 11 Members, *some of them Persons of eminent Integrity and Merit, the Pillars of their respective Houses? yet we hope well in their behalf. It will not stand with the Justice of a Parliament, to install one (the Earle of* Pembroke *) again upon the* Bench, *and make him their* Judge, *when his hand was to all the Warrants for Leevy's, and bring them to the* Bar, *condemn them for* Traytors, *who signed but onely one, whose fault was in comparison but looking over the Hedge, while the Other Stole the Horse. What hath been said against the late* Lord Maior, *and the* Aldermen, *Stars of the first Adagnitude in their Orbe, whose influences have strongly contributed unto the prosperity of the Parliament's Cause? yet we despair not, but that they also may be dismiss'd, if they would but fairly sit downe themselves. For we are not ignorant of the under-hand Offers, which have been made them, and the Devices which have been in Agitation, to come off with them handsomly. And it is a good* Omen *that Alderman* Culham *(whose guilt if it were any, was greater then any of his Brethrens)*

is discharged upon his humble submission.

These are Instances *enough to prove what I proposed; and* Both *sufficient to convince any judgement: That it was not* Publique Justice, *nor* Reliefe *of the* Kingdomes *grievances which were the springs of these actions, but* sinister *and* private *designes of their owne: Something like that of* Absalom, Oh that I were made Judge (*or rather Tyrant*) in the Land, that every man which hath a suit or a cause might come unto me, and I would doe him justice.

But all these former Proceedings are but rude Essays, in comparison of this last Grand accusative Declaration *against the* KING, *which we are asham'd of already, and after-Ages will condemne as the Top of malicious villany, and an unspeakable Scandall to our Religion. And, that which boils up the Iniquity to the height, the* King *is debarr'd the Privilege of His meanest Subject, of the greatest Malefactor, which is, to Plead for Himselfe, and to wipe off these black Aspersions, whereby His Honour is so deeply wounded: Nay to heare, or know His accusation.*

Let me therefore be pardon'd the Presumption, if in this case the unworthiest of millions of His people I become an Advocate for my oppressed Soveraigne, and with a few sparkes which I shall strike (as neere as is possible) from the Rock of Truth, afford some Evidence of His Innocencie, untill the Searcher of all Truth shall bring forth his righteousnesse as the light, and his judgement as the noone day.

The *Method* of the *Apology*.

In my discourse upon this Argument, I shall proceed this way. 1. *I shall premisse somewhat, which may serve for a discovery of the* Grounds *and* Designs *of the* Declaration. 2. *I shall give some* generall Answers *to the* Declaration

in grosse. 3. *A distinct particular* Answer *to each* Article *or part thereof. In which last part I shall speak to the* Title *first, The* Votes *after, Then to the* Particular Charges, *as they are reducible to certain* Heads. *The first, of what the* King *is pretended to have committed in relation to this* Kingdome of England. *The* second, *to what he did in relation to* Forraigne Estates.

To the first, *I shall reduce all which were done* 1. Before his Reigne, *until he came the Crowne.* 2. *From* His Coronation *until this* Rupture *between His Majesty and the Parliament, whether they relate more immediately to His owne* Person, *or to His* Officers *and* Ministers *as the* Privie-Councel men, *His* Councel *at* Law, *and* Servants: *or to His* Courts *of* Justice. 3. *All* Passages since the Rupture. *To the* second Head *or Chiefe, I shall reduce whatsoever is objected concerning* 1. Scotland, 2. Ireland, 3. *the* Protestants *in* Rochel, *and* all France. *In which if any particular relate to more heads then one, we shall (to avoid repetion treat upon it, under that which it is most proper unto. In the Discourse I shall first repeat the Charge, then give an Answer, and where it is their owne doing, lay the charge before their owne doores.*

The Ground and Designe of the Declaration, discovered.

It is well knowne to all the world, That from the beginning of our War (to trace the pedegree of them no higher) there have been two main parties in the Parliament (to omit their sub-divisions) commonly distinguished by the names of Presbyterians *and* Independents; *who, though in the generall they concurr'd in beating down the power of the King, yet had severall and indeed irreconcileable designes therein unto themselves.*

Nor

Nor can it be doubted, that the supream sole Power and Authority was the Apple of contention, *as well between them now that divided, as formerly between the* King, *and them conjoyned; what gawdy Colours soever are cast over, and specious Pretences made to stalke before it. Truth is, This is the generall Ground of most Quarrels; every man inheriting that ambitious Humour of our first common Parents, even from the* Disciples *in their Poverty (who were projecting for the Right-hand and for the Left, and in a kingdome too) unto the greatest* States-men. *Nay, a wise Gentleman of our Age observ'd it to be the Itch, even of kitchin-boyes, who should be the greatest.*

Now the Independents *(though inconsiderable at the first, even to Contempt, being not above six among fourscore in the Assembly, nor double that number visible in both Houses) have plaid their Cards so well, and follow'd their businesse so close, that they have got the* Purse *of the kingdome at their command, the whole* Strength *of it at their devotion, and now grasp at the* Authority *also, and seek to establish their* Iniquity by a Law.

But by what steps and Degrees they have climb'd thus high, is very difficult to discover exactly, the foundation being laid deep under ground, and carried up with as much Art, as ever Building of that nature was; Nor is it much materiall.

The greatest and onely unquestionable Authority *of this Kingdome is of the* King *and His two Houses of Parliament; to this their Ambition did aspire. But having struggled in vain in the* Houses *for a good while, they found the wind to sit too strong in their faces there, and an impossibility for them to begin that way, as the Temper of the Houses stood. If the* King *were but in their hands, being stript of all strength, and in some desperate apprehension of Himself,*

them

then their Hopes would handsomely smile upon them.

In order to this therefore a Quarrell is picks with the Parliament, the King's *Person seized on, and soon after the Parliament is most shamefully despised, abused, disgraced, made to double at pleasure, to eat up their owne Ordinances and Decrees, perfectly over-awed and even trampled on. So farre, that one of their owne Members in the House openly told them,* That he could not call them a House of Parliament, but a company of Gentlemen met together to fulfill the lust of an Army.

Yet were they so wise, and commenced their quarrell so cunningly, as that they might keep two strings to their Bow; and as the Beast, which hath two holes to his den, can stop or open either, as the weather sits: even so were their Propoſals *and* Declarations *contrived and sent abroad, that by changing or interpreting one word, they might comply with the* King *to destroy the Parliament, if they should find themselves unable to mould it after their own Humour, Or if once it were under their Girdle, then afterward to bring the* King *to their Bent, or lay him quite aside, and by binding his Hands to establish the whole Power and Authority of the Kingdome in their owne. And either of these Cards they drew, as they had Occasion, and convers'd with men of different Interests.*

In the meane time, they handle the King *with much Civility, and shewes of Indulgence, allowing him the service of his* Chaplains, *and the free use of the* Liturgy, *which was denyed him by the Houses, bearing him in hand, that they prefer'd* Episcopacy *before the* Presbyterian *way, and tickling him with ambiguous Promises, to mollifie his hard Conceits toward them, or at least to harden him the more against the* Presbyterians, *and make that breach wider. They had likewise the wit for to humour and stroak the* Royall party,

by

by a thousand pretty devises and artifices, entertaining some of them in their bosomes, allowing them Seats, even in their Councels of War, carefully forbearing in their Declarations to stigmatize them with that so familiar brand of Malignancy, and filling them with hopes and expectations of I know not what great favours, which they meant to perform, when two Sundayes met together.

Thus having well divided the Kings party from the Presbyterians, they had then a smooth and easie way to victory. The City *opens the Gates, The* Parliament *trembles, The chiefe Leaders of both Houses, either flie for't, or withdraw for a while, and play least-in-sight. Which was fore-seen when* Cromwell *stole privately to* Newmarket *from* London, *and asking* Whether they had the King in their hand? *Being assured of that, told some of the Officers,* That then they had the Parliament in their pockets.

Those who are of private spirits, and for their owne either safety or designes constantly swimme with the streame and Tyde, began now to tack about, and to do Fourny-worke for the stronger side, and Vote with the prevailing party, of which I will give but one Instance by the way, and that is of Colonell Hervy, *who three daies before would undertake to* beare them three miles into the Ground, *but upon their admission into the City, was their first Advocate.*

When the House was thus brought in a great measure to be at their devotion, the last Rub in their Alley was the King, *He persisted in his Obstinacy, and would not yeild up the Bucklers into their hands, nor the power to protect his people. Wherefore to bring His* Majesty *under the more advantage, by insinuations both of danger to His Person, and of an impossibility in them to save Him from the* Agitators, *(whom yet they countenanced for that purpose) and withall by secret promises of faire complyance, he is juggled into the Isle of* Wight.

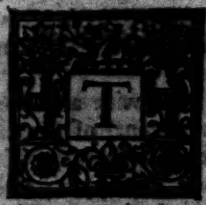
After that Bills *are provided, with pretence of condescension, lest they should seeme to invade the Throne* per saltum, *but in very deed, such as would have stript him bare of all* Soveraignty, *and of* power to protect *His Subjects, and established themselves by a* Law, *in an absolute* domination and Tyranny *over us.*

The King *not more for his owne* interest *and* safety, *then for the* benefit *of his* Subjects, *refusing to comply with their desires herein, is immediately confined; and that in such a manner, as it is hard to find a Parallel. His Wife, Children, Friends, Servants, all the Comforts of life kept from Him, (a course formerly pronounced barbarous and inhumane, even in a Subjects case.) By-and-by, the prodigious Votes, forbidding all intercourse of Letters to Him or from Him, under the penalty of High-Treason, so cutting off all possibility of Accommodation, were carryed in the House.*

Last of all, to render Him as black as was possible, and so utterly to alienate the affections of his people, this goodly Declaration (first set on foot in the Army, and allowed the Agitators to please themselves withall, so to divert them from more dangerous designes, as the Chesse at the siege of Troy *to keep Souldiers from mutiny) is thought upon, and taken up by the Grandees, lick'd into a better forme, so expos'd unto publick view; that besides their aime therein against the King, they might somewhat stroake the Levellers, by taking up their Principles, in a recompence for devesting them of their power: and so pave their way as much as was possible to a perfect Soveraignty for themselves.*

The

The generall ANSWER to the DECLARATION in Groſſe.

1. 

His *Declaration* imports very little or nothing, but what hath been either by the Parliament in their *Remonſtrances, Declarations* and *Meſſages*, or by their *Inſtruments* and *Emiſſaries*, inculcated *ad ravim uſq;*, and ſo often repeated, that they do even nauſeate the Reader. And ſurely it yeilds a ſhrewd Suſpition of Penury of Matter, when they are faine ſo often to take up the Old, and to harp thus continually upon the ſame Strings.

2. Many of the Charges are *not of his owne faults*, ſome being of the *Courts* of *Juſtice*, his *Judges* and other *Miniſters of State*; for ſome of which there hath been *ſatisfaction* given, either by a totall *abolition* of the Judicature, as of the *Star-chamber*, *High Commiſſion*, *&c.* or by *abridgement* of their *Juriſdiction*, as of the *Privy Counſell*, or by *expoſing* thoſe Inſtruments to the rigour of the Law; nay, to the very will of their mortall Enemies, the Parliament.

It would go but hard with his Accuſers, if they would take upon themſelves *all the Miſ-carriages*, all the *Cruelties* and *Oppreſſions* of their *Committees*, or of their *Soldiers*; and yet have they many Eyes to ſee, many Eares to hear withall: nay, if they would owne but the *perſonall faults* of their own *Members*, which would fill up many Volumes, if all were ſet in array againſt them. If we will not admit of that old Law-maxime, *The King can do no wrong*, nor be ſo *Court-like*, as the *Perſians*, whoſe fashion it

was to beat the Cloaths onely of their young Princes and Noblemen, when they had committed an offence; me-thinks we might at least be so *just*, as to lay the saddle upon the right Horse, and charge every man but with his owne Crimes.

3. Many of those against himselfe have been abundantly (for to satisfie the people) *acknowledged*, and *amended* (*offered* to be so at least.) With *God* Almighty, *Confession* goes for good *Satisfaction*. And what *Patterne* should we rather follow then that of our heavenly Father? *Be ye mercifull, as your heavenly Father also is mercifull, Mat.* 5. Even in the Iudgment of a Heathen man, *Repentance is above half way* to *Innocence*. And surely, when a *King* shall please to *stoop* so low to his own *Subjects*, as upon their Admonition to recall himself, and cry *Peccavi*; his *high Place* sets a *higher price* upon his *Repentance*; and he richly deserves to heare no more of his former *Over-sights*.

4. The fowlest of these *Charges* is not backt with any *proof*, but *insinuated*; and that sometimes upon no manner of Ground at all (as that of the *Spanish Fleet*) sometimes upon lamentable weak *Surmises*, bare *Hear-say's*, flying *Reports*, perhaps started on purpose against such a time. But what? Is this Iustice? to a King? to our own King? *By the mouth of two or three witnesses* (saith the word of God) *shall every word be established*. Not *under two*, (saith the Civil-law) and those contemporary to the fact, not successive. Indeed, by the Law of this land, *One single witness for the King* is enough. But shall his *Honour bleed*, his *Authority* be snatch'd away, his *very Life* struck at, upon Suggestions from *one*, from *none*? upon *Surmises* and *Conjectures*? How miserable then, beyond compare, were the condition of a King? How true was that saying of *Demetrius*, That if men *knew the Thornes it was beset withall*, they *would not stoop to take up a Crown, even from the Ground*.

5. Notwithstanding all this, There is a strong *Presumption*, that this is farced with whatsoever *Malice* could *prompt*, or the Wit of Men and Devils could contrive. Consider the *multitude* in both Houses; their *severall Relations* and Dependences, some of them being of the *Bed-chamber* to the King. It is impossible, any fault could escape them, their Eyes being more then those of *Argus* for number, of *Lynceus* for Perspicacity; (*nothing so quick-sighted*,

sighted as Malice.) Againe, do but take a Survey of the *Committee*, entrusted with this Affaire, *Lisle*, *Marvin*, *Mildmay*, *Challoner*, &c. Some of them *covetous* and *cunning*; such as desired to keep the waters troubled still, that they might fish the better, for another *Master-ship of St. Crosse's*, or some such like Advantage; Others of them, *broken in their Estates*, and *cracks* in *their Credit*, could wish the whole Kingdome like themselves; All of them of an *Anti-monarchicall spirit*, whose Hearts are brim-full of Gall and venome against the Crowne, and whose Tongues drop continually with the poison of Aspes against the Person of the King.

It was the Boast of a French *Promoter*, That he desired *no other advantage to break* any *mans neck*, *then that he might be employed* in an *Office of State*, *but for a twelve moneth*; So hard he deemed it for such a one to execute his place free from Exception, so easie for those that stand on Battlements and Pinacles to catch a fall. And if the faults of Kings (as *Q. Elizabeth* was wont to say, who was much delighted in wearing of *white*) *were like spots in such Garments*, *easily discovered*, and though small in themselves, borrowed greatnesse of their great Authors, Judge you, how it must fare with the King, when so many slie Promoters, crafty Lawyers, malicious Enemies, doe joyntly set their wits on the Tenter-hooks to find out matter of Accusation, when they go nosing and smelling after faults (and have done for seven years together) throughout the Spacious field of his whole Reigne; nay, of his private life too; and pry into every nook, every Corner for an Imputation, whereby they may with some Colour bespatter him, and lay his Honour in the dust.

6. These *Articles* were never *presented* to him, that he might *make his defence* (a Priviledge never yet denied any man, save by the Parliament) but thrust abroad into the world for to empoison the inconsiderate part of the people (an everlasting Objection against this sinister way of proceeding.) Many things at Court appear but on the *Dark side*; It were no wisdome to lay open the *Arcana Imperii*. The designe might be good, though attended with ill Successe. Things are not alwaies as they appeare; some are worse, some are better; and therefore the Judge of all forbids us to *to judge after the appearance*, *that being no righteous*

Judgement. How easie is it this way to blast and pervert both words and deeds of a true Saints to make any *Speech*, Treason; any *Action*, Villany?

7. Divers of their *owne Members*, such as have gone hand in hand with them, and *resigned* up their *judgments* and *understandings* in a willing Captivity to their Sense, have fail'd them in this Transaction. Many of whom with-drew, during the Debate; and some doe *cry Shame* upon't ever since. We know more then one or two, who were tutoured at their first Accesse unto the House, never *to desert their Party for right or wrong.* We can tell of another, was woo'd into one side by this Argument, *Thou wilt never be able to do thy Country service, thy friend a Courtesie, or stand upon thy own legs, otherwise.* Besides it is knowne now, that if the Lord *Inchequin* would have put his neck into such a Collar, he had not sufferd under such Accusations and Reproaches, nor been exposed to those difficulties in *Ireland.*

8. *Few* or *none* of those *Objections and Crimes*, they asperse the King withall, but they are in a transcendent measure *guilty of themselves.* Even among the *Jewes*, not a man could be found to throw the first Stone at an Adultresse, because his Conscience twitted him with his owne inward guilt. With what Brasse have they fenced their Browes against all shame? what brawny seard Consciences dwell within their Breast, when they pelt a matchlesse Prince with Stones, being themselves such great Strangers to Innocence? Blush, *O England!* for these thy Sons, whose Impudence hath forgot all bounds. Me-thinks, they should have swept before their *own doores* first, before they brought the *Besome* unto the *Court-gates*; pull'd out the *Beames* out of their own Eyes, which hindred them to see clearly, before they attempted to take the *Moates* out of their *Soveraigne's* Eye. Till this be done, we may not let loose our Belief to their lowd Criminations against our *Soveraigne Lord*; nor need we doubt, upon the high warrant of the *Lord of Lords*, to call them *Hypocrites.*

9. Adde to all these, That these very men have made *many Promises*, to render him a *Great and glorious King beyond* all his Royall Predecessours, after most of these supposed Crimes were committed. If their *Charity* was then so large a *Mantle*, as to *cover* such a *multitude of sins*, it can be nothing but their *Malice*, that

that now *proclaimes them upon the House-top.* And we will take the Confidence to presume, that if the *King* had gratify'd them in the matter of their four last *modest Bils*, only *preambular* to a personall Treaty (which, alas, contained nothing, but provision for their safety and security) then had he now been *Reflus in Curiâ*, nor had the World been put to this Astonishment in reading such a *Slanderous Chronicle of his life.* But now, that they finde him obstinately averse from parting with his *Crowne* and protection of his people, (for indeed their four Bils amounted to little lesse) out shall all come in one heap, and his *Nakednesse* (if any) must be *discovered in sight of the sun.*

But from the generall Answer, let us descend unto an examination of every particular Branch apart, and first a word or two of the Title.

The Title *of the Declaration considered.*

It is christned *a Declaration*; where observe the deviation of this manner of proceeding from the Rule in the Gospel; which enjoynes in case of *Trespasse* against *a Brother*, first a *private Admonition*; then, if that worke no good effect, before *two or three witnesses*; and if neither will serve the turne; if the delinquent addes obstinacy to his Trespasse, then, not till then, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, declare it to the Church. Now this rule I take to reach to civill Affaires, and to be a direction for private men in their reciprocall Behaviour. The *Scripture* holds forth stricter Precepts in reference to the King, *Thou shalt not speake evil of the Ruler of thy people*, (no not upon any Provocation) and *Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked?* and again, *Curse not the King, no not in thy thought*, Eccles. 10. It was onely the *ungracious Son*, that made *sport with his fathers Nakednesse*; for which even his Posterity were pronounced Heires of his Malediction. If they would needs rake in the shame of their Soveraigne, How much better had it been for them to have taken the Counsell given them by one of their own Members, *To send it to the King himselfe, because he knowes best, whether those things are true or no, I am sure some of our Proofs are short.* This course might have raised in him an opinion of the *Tendernesse* of his Commons *toward his Honour*, and in case he were

not

not innocent, wrought some Conviction upon his Spirit. But since they have stopped their Ears to his wholsome Advice, and chosen the way of unrighteousnesse, every good man will looke upon it, as *a Defamation*, rather then *a Declaration*.

Or if it must be *a Declaration*, then 'tis *of themselves*, of what lay before in the Closet of their evill Hearts, treasured up against a convenient season; *a Declaration* of their deep *Distaste* against the *Crowne*, their old *Malice* against the *King's person*, their *itching desire* of *Domination*, their *low Conceit* of this great and wise *people*, to be fobb'd with Paper, and fool'd with reasons of Straw; and that too, after the long and frequent Experience of so many forged Plots and Cheates.

2. Consider we the Authors, on whom it is father'd, the *Commons of England*. So then, 1. It is considered, this was *not* passed by *the Lords*. The calling of their Concurrence was decry'd, because they had some *Noble blood* in their veines, to make *them startle* and hang off for a while, (though they must submit at last.) And perhaps, some of them having lived in a sphear nearer to his Majesty, might be too well acquainted with his Innocence in many things, and so by discovery of truth in the debate, bring less Credit upon the whole Exploit. 2. *Not of all the Commons*, bate me an Ace there. It is notoriously known, that between 50 and 60 of the ablest men, who for the most part were likely to oppose this violence, were purposely sent out of *London*, to raise the *nine-monethes Assessments* from the respective Countries, so to ease them of free-quarter, (where, we will note by the way, there was a double Aime. 1. To have the *advantage* of their *Absence*, in relation to this course against the King. 2. To draw *an Odium* upon them from their Countries; whiles that, either the condition, upon which the Money was invited out of their hands, should not be performed; or another Tax (as indeed there is one already of six moneths) made the Requitall of their forward discharge of the first sums.) It is true, some of them were returned, but few or none present in the House. 3. *Not of all those Commons*, who were not so sent abroad, for upon the division, there were 50 on the one side, and 80 on the other. 4. It was at *eight* in the *night*, a *worke* of double *Darkenesse*, not daring to looke the sun in the face. It was huddl'd up; when *divers*, that had their lodgings in the ru-

mour

moter parts of the City, or without it, *divers* that were *infirme*, or *aged*, or *lazy*, or *hungry*, or *tir'd*, or *fearfull*, all that tooke care to avoid the throw of the Dye between the Envy and evil-eye of a prevailing Faction and their own Consciences had retired: the House so thin, that a Motion was made by a grave Patriot, *that it, being a Busines of very great concernment unto the Kingdome, might undergo the fullest debate, be re committed, that a full House might be called, and then all referr'd unto the wisdome thereof.*

Where by the way, let me put them in mind, that the *best-govern'd States in Christendome*, even such to which they pretend to modell themselves, *Venice, Holland, &c.* (Indeed, where is it not so, abroad?) nothing of Consequence is concluded, but wherein *two Thirds of the Suffrages* do concur. In our Kingdom, how oft hath a *Voice*, or *two*, an inconsiderable *Overplus*, carried a busines, even to our undoing? Let me mind them of one thing more, That there they *have Boxes*, by which means their *Votes are Secret*, and their *consciences* under no awe of an Imperious faction, under no danger of question for having dissented, *of being Poasted*, or *expos'd* to the *Rage of Porters*, as ours are, and have been.

Even among that number, if you deduct *such* as were *Cracks-Courtiers* enraged by former dis-respects, or having *Judas-like* betraied their *Master*, cannot be secured but by his *Ruine*; *such* as were *broken Citizens, Ven, Penington, Hervy, &c.* that had in their Eye to heale the wounds of their ruinous Estates; *such* as were *Low-fortun'd Soldiers*, driving at the continuance of their Trade, by laying the *grounds* of *new Contestations*; *such* as *sail'd* by the *Compasse of their Leaders*, following the Herd they were sorted to, by a blind faith, and through pure Simplicity; *Such* as *were Committee-men*, obnoxious, and in danger to be question'd for Accounts, so willing to shut the dore fast against that storme; & lastly *such* as *were devoted unto Journy-work*, in expectation of a Boone, or to be reciprocally gratified in some other kind; deduct (I say) all these, and you will have a poore *Company*, perhaps no more, then sometimes have serv'd in the *House of Lords* to passe matters of high Consequence, the *Speaker and one or two more*. Let the whole world now judge, whether this deserves to

beare that high Stamp *and* Character, as an *Act of the Commons of England* assembled in Parliament.

Of the VOTES, *and how they were passed in the House of Commons.*

Because the *Votes* lead the file, and are made the occasions of the Declaration, It is fit they should come to the *Test*; and I shall shew you, how they passed.

1. Fifty or sixty (as I said afore) of the most active intelligent Members, suspected to be *cross-grain'd* to that way, were sent abroad under colour of the *Publick service*.

2. The *Head-quarters* were appointed to draw *towards London*; and the Soldiers from other parts, to startle the scrurer Members, and affright the weaker and obnoxious.

3. At the Debate, the *first Vote* was *begun* withall, which had some shew of Reason in it; cunningly enough; that when the Dissenting party had champed upon that awhile, they might perhaps yeild unto it, and then retire; while the other three Votes were dispatched in their Absence.

4. To evince these Votes, there wanted not *Argumenta lucillina*, Insinuations of Force and compulsion (a common practice there in all Debates of Consequence) made by *Cromwell* especially, who represented it more then once, how *dis-test full it might be to the Army, if not consented to*. And upon the Division, *Cromwell* addressed himself to *Ceely*, whom he had not spoken to in in many moneths before, and gave him thanks; whose Answer was, *that though he was of his mind in that point, yet was it not upon his Argument*.

And thus the Votes were carried in the House of Commons.

The VOTES *how passed in the House of Lords.*

There was never much Difficulty made of the maddest Votes to passe the House of Lords, if the Commons pleased to *switch* or *spur* them up: yet here they were not willing to trust their good Natures altogether. First, a *Message of Thanks* is sent from the *Army* by a *glittering Committee* of six Colonels, to the House of Commons,

Commons, with *a promise to live & die with them in defence thereof* (a sure sign, where the Bird was first brooded, and from whence it came to the House of Commons.) A *Message* with *two faces*, one looking to what was already done by the Commons, the other (which was the chief) to what was expected from the Lords, and afterward from the rest of the Kingdome, to which it was meant as a *Preparation*. Secondly, *Addresse* was made in particular to every one of the *Lords*, by these Champions of the Votes, the Colonels; much Courtship shewed; many promises made; all of them dealt with, according to their severall Temper and Disposition. The fiery Spirits stoop'd unto and ply'd with gentle Fomentations; the wel-affected encourag'd; with some implicit Menaces unto the tame Spirits; a strong Motive to bring the Lords over to a complyance with the Commons, when they entreat, that can enforce it, if it be denied. Thirdly, A publick printed *Engagement*, to *maintain the Honour of the House of Peers* is tendred. For they foreseeing the Inference would unavoidably be made, That if the Crown were trampled on, Peerage could not look for any long Date, did wisely enough by this printed little piece of Rhetorick, apply themselves to invalidate that piece of Logick, and so to satisfie the Scruples of the Lords before hand. Fourthly, While the Lords made some demur, and as yet the Scale stood even, high words passed in the House of Commons, to this effect, *That as they had saved the Kingdome without the Lords, so could they settle it without them*; and more to that purpose. Fiftly, To make sure work under pretence of a *Guard* to the Houses, a *Rod* is brought over their Heads, of a *Regiment of Foot* to *White-Hall*, and another of *Horse* to the *Mewes*. This, this struck the businesse dead. The Lords are convinc'd by such Arguments, and so concur.

The Iniquity of the VOTES *in their Substance.*

I need not spend much time on this Argument; it seems, the Kingdome is convinced hereof already: for neither the *Example of the Army* (who made haste to present a Gratulatory Acknowledgement unto the House for these Votes) nor *the Policy of* the *Committee-men, Justices,* (men according to their own tooth,

choſen to adjutate for the two Houſes, more then for their Country's ſervice) with other *Engineers* and *Emiſſary's*, Nor yet the *Force* of their *Souldiery*, diſperſed through the Kingdome, hath been ſufficient to awe them or entice them into ſuch a Nooſe, as to make any demonſtration of their Concurrence in Judgement, or of Engagement with them in the defence thereof; except the poore Towne of *Taunton*, and an inconſiderable part of inconſiderable men *in Buckingham-ſhire*, we heare of none; and for Thoſe it is no Wonder: for the *Taunton-men are ſo Independent*, that they will not acknowledge any Land-lord; but pretend thoſe Houſes which ſtand in the Towne, were ſaved by their Sword, and with the hazard of their lives; and therefore are their owne. The *Buckingham-ſhire men* were out-witted; ſome being made believe, the *Petition* was for taking off *Free-Quarter*; Others, for the *Preſbyterian Government*. Others were *ſent for up* to *meet* their *Miniſters* and other *Confidents* at *Paddington*, upon pretence *of buſineſſe of huge Importance*, but knew not *what*, untill they were *come thither*, and then went on, like Geeſe, with the flock.

Let the Kingdome but ſeriouſly conſider the *Barbariſme* herein toward his Majeſty, and the miſery wherein they involve *this Nation* thereby, and I believe there will no more be found to tread in their Steps. *Impriſonment* is the Buriall of a Man alive, and that which *Private* perſons hardly endure with patience: no *Creature* will, if it be poſſible to make any Eſcape. And it was formerly a high *Charge*, even in a *Subjects caſe*, upon *the Star-Chamber*, and other Courts. *But for a King* to be ſo dealt withall, *our owne*, *an Innocent* and Pious Prince, by his owne *Subjects*, & to be put under the *cuſtody* of his deſperate *implacable Adverſaries*; further, to be depriv'd of all *Acceſſe* or Entercourſe with his Wife, Children, friends, ſequeſtred from all the Comforts of life, This is much more, then ever was inflicted upon *Lilburne*, *Pryn*, or *Baſtwick*; whoſe hard uſages have been thunderd by themſelves throughout the Kingdome, *to be ſavage, barbarous, inhumane*. By the Law of this Land, It is *Treaſon to impriſon the King, though at large*. 25 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 2. What will theſe men be thought worthy of, when that ſhall recover its own Channell, and flow downe our Streets like a Stream? when they ſhall come to their Accounts?

The

The *Miſeries wherein they involve this Nation* hereby, are obvious to every underſtanding. The Parliament touching the Succeſſion, 1 *Maria, cap.*1. acknowledgeth, *That the Welfare, profit, and ſpeciall benefit of the univerſall people is contin'd and maintain'd, in the ſurety and preſervation of the Prince.* Even in this Parl. in their Declarations, they ſay, *That the very Safety and Being of both his Kingdomes depends upon His Majeſties returne to London.* Since the King was in their power, The very *Army* could acknowledge, *There can be no Peace in this Kingdome, without a good agreement between the King and his Subjects.* Now, is it poſſible, there ſhould be an Accommodation, where there is no Entercourſe, no Addreſſes made or entertain'd? Thoſe who have felt the Burden of this War, need no Admonitour to judge, what will be the Burden of another. As much as lies in them, the Houſes have laid a laſting *foundation* to *entaile*, if not *perpetuate* the *Diſcord* to our *Poſterity*, with all the ſad Conſequences thereof.

A Collection of all the particular Objections againſt His Majeſty before he came to the Crown.

Thoſe Objections which are made againſt His Majeſty before his Reign, and belongs to the firſt Claſſis of his *Charges*, are only foure.

1. *His Letter to the Pope* which he writ in *Spaine.*
2. *The Articles of Marriage made with Spaine.*
3. *The Articles of Marriage made with France.*
4. *The Death of King* James.

But becauſe the three firſt doe relate to that Charge which are againſt his Majeſty, as being enclined to Popery; we ſhall give them their anſwers under that.

The brief of their Calumny concerning K. James *his death*, is this,

That *when the Duke was charged by the Houſe of Commons of high Miſdemeanour and Preſumption, In that he did contrary to the advice of his Phyſitians, cauſe a Plaiſter to be applied, and a Drink to be given to K.* James, *who was ſick but of an Ague; and that conceived*

ceived to be in the Declination by his Physitians: whereupon, divers distempers and ill symptomes ensued, and the King himself did attribute the cause thereof unto the Plaisters. That his Majesty who now is, took notice of this in the Lords House, told them He could be a Witnesse to cleare the Duke in every particular, and did interrupt them by frequent Messages in their proceeding: afterwards Dissolv'd the Parliament, and did imprison Sir I. Eliot *and Sir* Dudly Diggs; *and hereupon, they desire every one to judge where the guilt lay.*

An Answer to that Calumnie concerning K. James.

1. 1. It is known to all, that K. *James* was an aged man; and to all the *Court*, that he kept an ill Diet: particularly, how he was addicted to Excesse of *sweet Wines*; by reason whereof, together with *ease* and want of *exercise*, as also the forbearance of all *Physick*, he grew full of *humors*, *corpulent*, and of an evill *constitution*. For the *sickness he died of*, it was a kind of *Ague*, mixt of a *quotidian* and a *tertian*, call'd an *Hemitritæa*; and so determin'd of by all his *Physitians*, six or seven at least. Now that Disease, though stiled by the name of an *Ague*, is known to be *mortall* in its owne *nature*, and more to *die* of it, then to *recover*: But in such an *Age*, *Constitution*, and *course of Diet*, as King *James* was of, nothing more certain; Especially considering he hated *Medicines*, would conforme to *no directions*; nay, was so crosse, that when one of his *Doctors*, as the *mouth* of the rest, had told him, that *he must bleed*, *in a great Rage*, he ingeminated the Scandal of a *Butcher* upon him.

2. As they agreed, this was his Disease, so they were convinc'd, that his *Death* was *the naturall* and *genuine* effect thereof, and they testified the same.

3. His *Body* being opened, was found faire and free from any ground of Suspition, in the judgment both of his *Chyrurgeons* (of whom Master *Hayes* is yet living, and in the *Kings-bench*) *Apothecary's* and *Physitians*. There are three of those Physitians yet alive, Doctor *Hervy*, Doctor *Lister*, and Doctor *Craig*, all three honest and worthy men, the two last resident in the *Parliaments* quarters about *London*, and in this Breach between the King and them of their party; Doctor *Craig* under a disgust at Court, and discharg'd

diſcharg'd from his Attendance long afore, and therefore not likely to be partial to the *King*; Who all doe teſtifie the truth of this *Narrative*, and (I believe) are ſo noble, that they will readily give ſatisfaction to any man, that ſhall but doe his Judgment that right, as to informe it.

2. Touching *the Duke*, I ſhall firſt premiſe ſomewhat; both about that he adminiſtred to K. *James*, and alſo how far he was accus'd in Parliament, then anſwer the Charge. 2.

The *Duke himſelfe* had been ſick of an *Ague*, and that not long before: in which Diſeaſe he was attended by three able Phyſicians; but after ſome wreſtling with it by their help, the *Counteſſe of Buckingham* his Mother, ſhutting them out of dores, gives the Duke a Vomit, made with *Tobacco*; which wrought violently, but recover'd him from his Diſeaſe. After which, finding himſelf ſomewhat weak, he retires to the *Earle of Warwick's houſe* in *Eſſex*, where, either upon *change* of Aire, or ſome *reliques* of the *diſeaſe*, or what cauſe ſoever, he ſuffer'd a *relapſe*: and being perſwaded by the *E. of Warwick*, ſent for one *Remington*, a Phyſician living thereabout, who by a *Plaiſter*, applyed to *his Stomack* and *Wriſts*, and a *Poſſet-drink* taken inwardly, recovered him from that *Relapſe*.

After this, K. *James* being ſick, his *diſeaſe* an *Ague*, the *Duke* ignorant of the *diſtinction* between *Agues*, thinking *all* of the *ſame Nature*, that *bore* the *ſame Name*, perceiving the *Phyſicians doubtfull*, other directions unſucceſsfull, the *Kings* diſpoſition impatient of many *Medicines*, declareth to the *King* his owne *Cure*, propoſeth to the *Phyſicians to Vomit him* with *Tobacco*. But the danger thereof being ſuggeſted, by reaſon of the violence of it, and the ſpeciall Antipathy of the *King againſt it*, he forbeares that *remedy*, yet upon the urgent deſire of King *James* himſelfe, procures for him the aforeſaid *Plaiſter and Drinke*; the one being onely *London-Treacle*, the other no more but *Poſſet-drink*, boil'd with *Harts-horne* and *Marigold-flowers*, then ſweetned with *Syrrup* of *Gilly-flowers*; which were both diſcover'd to the Phyſicians afterwards, and obtain'd before, not without ſome aſſiſtance of the *Earle of Warwick*.

After the application of this, whether by the naturall courſe of

of the diſeaſe, or ſome other cauſe, the *King grew worſe indeed*; the Phyſicians take it not well; theſe Medicines are laid aſide: Yet, the diſeaſe not abating upon intermiſſion of the directions, the *King*, impatient both of his diſeaſe, and of his Phyſicians preſcripts, importunes again for that *Remedy*, which he had rejected. Hereupon, a *Bed-chamber-man* is preſently diſpatch'd unto the *Apothecary*, Monſieur du Plure, *Treacle* is ſent for: no tearm of Specification being added, he thought it fit to ſend the beſt unto his Majeſty, and by that means ſent him *Venice-Treacle*, which as it was better in it ſelfe, ſo was it worſe for the Kings diſeaſe. This being brought, no body there preſent could order it, but the *Counteſſe of Buckingham*. It was applied again; but being hotter then the former Plaiſter, and the Kings hot fit approaching, it might ſomewhat aggravate his *Heate*; whereupon, he cryed out, *That theſe had done him hurt, and were the cauſe of his Extremity*. Upon this, ſome one in the roome drank up the Poſſet-drinke; and the Plaiſter was *applied* to *another*, who took no manner of *hurt*, but that he was *cured* of an *Ague*.

This is the whole truth concerning that *Application*; and beſides others, it will be atteſted by Maſter *Patrick Maule*, then of the Bed-chamber, and in Attendance, a Gentleman, whom the *Parliament* hath imployed about the *King*, ever ſince he hath bin in their hands, and therefore one that in all probability would relate nothing to their diſadvantage, on ſet purpoſe.

For the Duke's Impeachment *in* Parliament, *this was the ground of it.*

When that *Parliament was* ſummon'd, and the *Elections* were made, Sir *John Eliot*, who much honoured the *Duke*, and was reciprocally much eſteemed of by him, made an addreſſe unto the *Duke* in the name of *many Members*, offered him many Arguments to bring him unto their Party, made engagements unto him to eſtabliſh him in all his *Places* by *Parliament*, and to adde unto his *Grandeur*. But the *Duke*, rejecting theſe offers, and replying with ſome Scorne, according to the Height (and perhaps, vanity) of his Spirit, *That the* King *ſhould have that now, by my leave of theirs, which formerly he would have thanked them for*; *and*

that

that the turbulent Spirits were ſo daſht, that there could be no conſiderable Oppoſition in their Houſe to his deſignes (and indeed in ſight, more of the Members of that Election were at the *Dukes* devotion.) Whereupon, Sir *John Eliot*, like a good *Patriot*, reply'd, *that he was miſtaken in the Spirit of that Houſe, the very walls infuſing Reſolution into them who ſate there; and rather then the* Duke *ſhould not be daſht, that he himſelf would break the ice.* And hereupon was the *E. of Briſtol* countenanced (whom in former *Parliaments* they themſelves had caſt ſome frowns upon, and threatned with ſome danger.) This *Impeachment* againſt *the Duke* is contrived in ſuch a way, as that the *King* muſt either engage againſt him, or at leaſt ſtand Neuter, or (which was worſt of all) beare the reflection of that Dirt, which they would beſtow upon the *Duke*. This was the true ground of that *Charge*; and this was the *Man*, who carried it up, and did chiefly manage it in the Houſe of *Commons* and in their *Committees*.

3. Theſe things thus premiſed, I anſwer, Firſt by way of *Conceſſion*, that indeed the *Duke* was guilty of *Imprudence*, to meddle in an *Art*, he was not *Maſter* of; And more yet, to exhibit any thing that way unto a *King*; ſo that he was in ſome meaſure liable to the *Charge* againſt him. Secondly, by way of *Exception*, 1. This was no cauſe of the Kings *death*; and ſo much the very Charge implies, which was but of *Miſ-demeanors* and high *Preſumptions*. Had it been of his Death, it could not have ſtood on this ſide *High-Treaſon*; and therefore it was a malicious intimation to the Kingdome, that his Majeſty was guilty of what they themſelves were aſhamed to charge upon the *Duke*. 2. It was done out of a good affection, and an intent to recover the *King*. Had he had other Ends, he would never have owned the Action, as he did. He was not ſo weak a *Politician*, as to doe ſuch a buſineſſe with his owne hands, or by thoſe of his *Mother*, or ſo much above-boord. 3. The Medicines of themſelves were innocent, and could not prejudice. I have heard it from learned *Phyſicians*, that *London-Treacle* is of a temperate nature, and propulſive of Venome from the Heart, a *Cordial*; the decoction of *Harts-horn* with *Marygold-flowers* and *Gilly-flowers* is no other. Nay, this was atteſted by ſome of the Phyſicians upon their Examina- 3.

tions in that Parliament, that those Medicines did him no hurt. 4. There was a possibility to save the King thereby. *Experiment* is the best Leg and *Base* of *Physick*; and oftentimes, when a learned Doctor hath strugled in vaine, a Nurse or a Midwife hath wrought the Cure by an approved Receit. How oft hath the *Lady of Kent* flatter'd her selfe in this kind, and the Lady *Brooke* too, or they have done Cures by a Medicine or two, which have been blow'd at in vaine by good Physicians? 5. It was done by K. *James* his earnest entreaty; and we know, how far the Importunity of a great Person, a Prince, may transport a man, his servant, even against Reason, much more where there was Reason for it. We can produce an example of a French K. in a *Fever*, who being prohibited all *Wine* by his *Physicians*; did so importune his Servants for that *liquor*, as they gave him his *fill*, and that of the *strongest* too, whereby he was not only *satisfied*, but his *Fever cured*. 6. The chief Witnesses against the Duke were *Ramsey* and *Eglisham*, the first to the Parliament, the other to the Kingdome by his *pen*, both of them of so bad a Reputation, that their testimony was not to be taken against a private man; the *former* being *expell'd*, or enforced to relinquish the Colledge of *London* for his ill-behavior, who will *lie*, *sweare*, *flatter*, do any *villany*: the *latter* expell'd from his *University*, a *Papist*, or rather of no Religion, and of as little *honesty* or *learning*, a man of a crackt Braine too. 8. For K. *James* his own Clamour, his *word* that way was no *Slander*. How often hath *Treason* been in his Mouth, when he was but crost or disturb'd in his *sports* and *recreations*? I have heard, *the King of Sweden* us'd to make himself merry with that Expression of King *James*, upon an accidentall *cut* of his *finger* by his *Carver*. 9. That the *Disease* was in the *declination*, was uncertaine. Sometimes *one fit flatters*, and the next *kills*. *Physicians* love to speak *Placentia*, especially to *Great Patients*: We have lately had an *Experiment* of that in the L. *Fairfax* who died of a *Corn* in his *Toe*, and that presently after his *Physicians* had made his *Attendants* and *Friends* secure of his *recovery*. Nor is it sometimes amisse in reference to the *Cure*, to feed them with *hopes*, and to cherish their *conceit*, which is, though but of small *reality*, yet of no small *Consequence*. Besides, at that time it was given out by them so; One of the *ablest* told the rest, and

divers

divers others, That the Kings *disease* was *mortall*, and would *surely* *kill him*; giving this reason, *That he had twenty Patients that* *year, and most of them recovered, under fourteen fits; but the* King *had* *not strength enough to endure twelve.* Besides, that was the year, which preceded the *great Sickness*; before which, usually *diseases* have much *Malignancy*, and oftentimes put tricks upon the *best* *Physicians.*

4. As *to his Majesty*, that now is, Those who were conversant about him, both Physicians and others give this account, *that they* *are confident, he knew not any of those Passages.* In that he brought off the *Duke*, he might think himself bound by a *three-fold Cord*, of *Honour*, *Justice*, and *Friendship*: of *Honour*, because that which was the *ground* of the *Accusation* was his *owne service*, at least, pretended so to be. Of *Justice*, because he had done King *James* *no hurt*, did it in obedience to King *James* his owne command, intended him allgood; and was prosecuted by his Adversaries upon another Score and Spite. Of *Friendship* also, it being well known, how deeply the *Duke* had wound himself into the *Kings* *favour* (I dispute not how justly) the very laws of *friendship* call'd for *relief at his hands*, when he saw the *Duke* in *danger* to be *op-* *prest*. *H. Martin* himselfe, the most professed *enemy* unto the King, thought so meanly of this *Accusation*, that he onely made sport of it: when in some company it was spoken of, told them, *(if it were true) It was the onely good action he had ever done in his* *life, and therefore desired he might not be alwaies twitted with* *that.* 4.

And now let all the world judge of the abominable Iniquity of these men, that lay to the *charge* of their owne Prince things that he knew not, things of that ugly Stamp, that a loyall Subject dares not put them into words.

We may adde unto all that hath bin said in defence of his Majesty,

1. The singular *observance* and *dutifulnesse* of his owne *Chil-* *dren* towards himself, a *comfort* seldome vouchsafed, but as a re-ward of former *obedience*. God observes, for the most part, a *proportion* in all his *Retributions*; and punisheth, as it were, *in* *Specie*, according to the nature of our Offences, in their own kind.

2. *His Majesties compoſednes* and *equality* of Spirit, in the midſt of his *dangers* and *afflictions*. When his *Chamber* hath been beſet with *Armed men*, I cannot learne, that he loſt one hours Reſt for that, which might have been a cauſe of Terrour, even to a cleare Conſcience. Nor can I underſtand, that he made ſcruple at any of thoſe Cates, which were cook'd by a Hand, that had been armed and held up againſt him in the field. Whatſoever his *troubles* and *diſtreſſes* were, he *was himſelf* ſtill

——*Mediis tranquillus in undis.*

But *Murder*, eſpecially *Parricide* is a *Fury*, which keeps the Conſcience in a continuall Alarme, and preſents unto all the Senſes, objects of *horrour* and approaching *vengeance*. The Hiſtory is known of *Nero*, who never could endure a *clap of Thunder*, after the *murder* of his own *Mother*; but crept even *under his Bed*, or into the *cloſeſt Corner* he could poſſibly find, at the *noiſe* of it. And I need not enlarge that ſtory of a Prince, who hearing Swallows ſinging in his Palace, fancied they ſung it clearly, That *he was his Fathers murderer*, and therefore cauſed them to be purſued and beaten downe. Many more ſuch Arguments we might inſiſt upon, if we would make uſe of ſuch *Topicks*, as paſſe with the *Houſe of Commons* for excellent *ſtrength of reaſon*, when it may ſerve their Occaſions.

I muſt acknowledge, that I expected with this, *His Majeſty* ſhould have been charged with the Death of his elder Brother Prince *Henry* alſo: for I know, *That* had a place in the firſt rude draught of the *Catalogue* of his Crimes, which was *compoſ'd* in the *Army*. But the *Houſe* remembred, *his Majeſty* was but *twelve years* of *Age*, and ſo that was expung'd.

A Collection of the Crimination they make againſt His Majeſty from the time of His comming to the Crown untill the preſent Rupture.

Thoſe *Aſperſions*, which they caſt upon the *King* from his entrance upon the *Crown* untill this *Breach between* Him and them, are reducible to 3 *Heads*:

The *firſt* to ſuch, as *more immediately* relate unto his *own Perſon*.

The

The *second*, to such as were done *by his Ministers*, and *did* originally flow from them, as the *Lords of the Privy Councell*, his *Councell at Law*, and his *Servants*.

The *third*, to such as were done by his *Courts of Justice*, either *Civill* or *Ecclesiasticall*.

Under the first of these, we may marshall,

1. *Perjury, and Breach of Trust.*
2. *Popery, and a Conspiracy with Papists to massacre all the Protestants in* England *and* Ireland.
3. *Tyranny.*
4. *Hate of Parliaments.*

Their Charge of Perjury, and Breach of Trust.

This deserves the first place, as the greatest Crime in a *Prince*, if true; and the fowlest Calumny, if false; which they tax His Majesty withall in these generall words, *page* 11. *He hath broken his Coronation-Oath, severall Vows, Protestations, and Impresations, through His whole Reign, and so oft renued before God and the World*: a little after, They accuse him of a *continued Track of Breach of trust, since he wore the Crown.*

That Charge *answered and retorted.*

1. These are but barely asserted; and I appeal to their own Breasts, whether it be fit to take their word in this Case; I am confident, I may to the Kingdome.

2. This is onely a *Generall Accusation*; no *particular Instance* given. Indeed afterwards there is an Imputation of *Breach of Articles with the Scots*; denying of any *Commission* to have been granted to *Cockram*, which they took with other Papers; and some such things there are which amount to no more then *Tergiversation*, if all were true as they relate; and shall have a full Satisfaction in their proper places. If they had held forth any proof of any particular, we should have joyn'd Issue, and made no question to vindicate His Majesty. They may remember, *Generalities* afford a shrewd suspition of jugling fraudulence; and we have some aime at their Intents, by their audacious Imputati-

ons to make something stick upon His Majesty, whether true or false.

3. With what Confidence can they accuse his Majesty (if he had been guilty) of that, wherein they themselves lie so grossly open to Exception? *Quis tulerit Gracchos? &c.* Their whole Practise hath been Prevarication, Breach of Oath and Trust, both with God and Man. Have but a little patience, to eye their deportment towards all men they have had to deal with. In relation to the King, Have they not broke the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, wherein they have sworne to beare faith and true *Allegiance* to His Majesties person, and to defend the same against all Conspiracies, &c? Have they not broke the *Oath* too of *Supremacy*, wherein they have professed, testified and declared him the onely *supreme Head and Governour over all Persons, in all Causes, within those His Dominions*? both which Oaths they must and doe take, before they can legally sit and Vote in that House. Have they kept the *Protestation* better, which provided for the *Kings honour, Power*, and *Safety*, before their *Priviledges*? And have they kept their owne *solemne Covenant*, either in this or any Branch thereof? Nay, hath it not been resembled to an *Almanack out of date*, by one of their own Members, *Martin* in his Answer to the *Scots Declaration*, and that without a check?

How have they deceived and abused this *poor Nation*, in reference *to the King*; when they conjur'd us up to rescue the *Kings* Person, (among other things) out of the hands of his *Evill Counsellours*, and to fetch him home gloriously to his *Greatest*, and most *faithfull Counsell*, Themselves?

How well have they answer'd that very great Trust the *King* reposed in them, when (to please them if possible) he tied up his owne hands from the dissolving this Session of *Parliament*, without their *Consent*? (the greatest *Breach of Trust that ever the King made*, if we may believe *John Lilburne*.)

How have they acquitted their *Engagements* to the *Scots*, as touching the *King*? Nay, have they not disclaimed their owne Declarations, as Obligatory, and told the Scots since, That *they were framed, published and made use of, as Affaires then stood, and that they may alter them now*? and in another place, that *they are alterable at pleasure*, although they were Promissory, and that

upon

upon the most sacred Invocation possible; as you may see in the Scots Papers, *We professe in the sight of Almighty God, which is the strongest obligation that any Christian, and the most solemne Publick Faith that any State can give.* (Husbands Book of Decl. p. 587. & 663. the like.) *That no trouble nor successe should change their resolutions*, ibi.

And how they have made good these following *Expressions of the Army*, (for now I must charge the Parliament with the Doublings of the *Army*, who rule the roast there) Whereas there is a *scandalous Information, presented to the House, importing as if His Majesty were kept a Prisoner amongst us, and barbarously and uncivilly used, We cannot but declare, that the same and all other Suggestions of that nature, are most false, scandalous, and absolutely contrary, not only to our declared desires, but also to our Principles, &c.* and a while after, We *clearly professe, we doe not see, how there can be any Peace to the Kingdome sure and lasting, without a due consideration of and provision for the Rights, Peace, and Immunity of His Majesty, His Royall Family, &c.* Remonst. from Ex. and A. Jun. 23. 1647. in another place, *That untill this settlement, His Majesty may find all personall Civility and Respects, with all reasonable Freedome*, in the Letter from Sir *Thos Fairfax*, besides many more; which applied to their present practice, doe lowdly proclaime their odious Prevarication towards His Majesty.

In relation to the *Kingdome*, How strangely have they falne short of their Trust? Can their Consciences flatter them, that they were entrusted by us, with the least thought, that they should enthrone themselves, during life, in those *Chairs*, and *entaile* their *Places* on their *Posterity*? yet many of them being put to it, have intimated thus much; nay, in the House it hath often drope from them, *That it was dangerous to pitch upon a time of Dissolution, though within these ten or twenty yeares.* Some of them have been so ingenuous, as to say, *If they give way, Another Parliament must be call'd within these three yeares; and the Kingdome is so totally corrupted, that it is Time to use, but That would attaint the Members of This.* Many of them, who are *Fathers*, have by their *Power* and Interest already brought in, not onely their *eldest Children* (some

in

in their Nonage, and Children indeed) but *two* or *three*, as the Lord *Say*, who hath three of his owne Sons in the *House of Commons*. They were entrusted by the people (I trow) to ease them of their *Grievances*, establish the *liberty* of their *Persons*, settle the *propriety* in their Estates: yet let me bespeak them in the words of one, that hath lost his blood in their service, Mr. *Lilburne* by name, *I challenge them to shew one Act, they have done for the benefit of the people.* We feel their little finger heavier then the Loynes of the *King* with all his *Predecessours*. They have brought us from the *Government* of one *King*, who was bound up by law, to the *Tyranny* of 5 or 600 of themselves, nay every petty Committe-man, every insolent Officer, whose Will and Lust is their Law; so into an Ægyptian Vassalage, a condition worse *then that of the Peasants of France*, of *the Boores in Flanders*, of *the Slaves in Turkie*, (to use a mans word, of their owne side.) What can we call our owne, if one of the *Grandees*, or his Friends mouth waters after it? If they Vote to pocket up our Estates, to take away our Wives, our liberties, our very lives, who can stand before their Omnipotency?

Let their *Officers* and *Army's* be heard, what measure hath bin meted out to them. They were promised *Golden Mountains*, The *Parliament* would *stand and fall, live and die with them.* Yet when the *first Army* had set them up, and broke the ice for them, how dishonourably was the *Lord Generall*, how unthankfully were the rest laid aside, even without their *wages*, which they could never obtaine to this day? This *last Army* had the same doome; but they tooke better Courage, and knew their owne strength. The *Scots* (however stroakt with the name of Brethren to this day) were serv'd with the self-same sauce, and put to retreat (faster then was for their Ease) from *Newarke* toward their own Confines, with a great Body of Horse at their heels.

The *City* (unto whose blood and treasure they owe their being, and whatever they have) rings again of their breach of Trust and faith with them. Instead of *Signall marks of the Enlargement of* their *Priviledges, Recompences for all their offices of love.* Their *Works* are demolished. The *Tower* is wrested from their hands. Themselves *besieged* in a manner. A *Garrison* threatned to be put upon them, their *armes* to be taken away, (if they durst.)

Their

Their *Tenders* decayed, threatned to be quite mined. Their late *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* (some of which were their fastest friends and Zelots) impeached for their lives upon no ground. Their whole *Common Councell* menaced. Divers of their *Ablest Members* marked out already for destruction. Nay, the whole City kept in continuall fearer of fire or sword, or other violence by them.

The *Assembly-men* and *Ministry* give no better accompt of their faith toward them neither. How did they tickle them at the beginning of these troubles with Engagements and Covenants for a *Church-Government* to their content, making them a *glorious Clergy*, establishing a free and full *maintenance for Preaching Ministers*? Yet their *Persons* are now more vilified then ever. Their *Function* exposed to contempt and scorn. Their *maintenance* abridged, and that by the connivance of the Houses, nay the example, private encouragement, if not the project of their Members.

We will not twit them with their deceitfull *Ordinances, of self-denial*, (which onely broke the ice to ingrossement of all Places and Offices of profit into Members hands or their Confidents to Distribution of at least 200000*l.* of our Estates amongst themselves) Of *Accompts* of the *Kingdom*, (by which they have encreased their expences many thousands without mention to perfect, or call any man to refund) Of *hearing complaints against bribery and injustice of their Members* (whereby they may take notice of the Person that dares question any of their Houses, and after they have worried him thereby a fruitlesse and chargeable attendance, find some advantage to break his back) nor many such like.

Nor yet stop they there, in falsifications of their owne; but they *compell others to break their Oaths* and *Promises*. (I say nothing now of those Oaths they force upon the Consciences of such men, as had rather trust God with their Soules, then them with their Bodies and Estates) They have compelled their owne side to break those *Articles* and *Engagements*, which they had struck up; witnesse the *Cessations in York-shire*, made by the late Lord *Fairfax*, and that in *Cheshire*. Nay, themselves entertain'd, and by their *Ministers* perswaded some Hundreds of Men taken Prisoners at *Brainsford*, and dismiss'd by the *King*, upon their

Oath to beare no more Armes against him, within very few dayes to vomit those up again, as unlawfull Obligations.

Last of all, Is it not a great part of their Quarrell against the King, that they cannot enforce him to forget his Oath, whereby he stands obliged to defend the *Church in her Rights and Privileges*? that he will not yeild *up the Laws of the Land*, to be new-modell'd according to their Lusts, and the *Power to protect his Subjects* (which he is bound by Oath to do) into their hands, that they may oppress them at their pleasure? how infinite is this Argument? I *pray God*, they have not halced even with *him* also. We are strongly tempted to believe, that their *Fastings*, their *Prayings*, their *zealous* and solemne *Excursions of Pillories and Crosses*, were but Pageantry to deceive the People, rather then true Devotions to make an *Atonement* with the *Almighty*; and perhaps we could prove it upon many. But God is the only Searcher of Hearts, and to him we refer them for that matter.

The Charge of Popery upon the King.

This Charge hath two Branches; the *One* of his *Inclination to Popery*, and favour of that *Religion*; the *Other* of a *Conspiracy* with the *Papists* to *destroy all the Protestants* in *England* and *Ireland*. For the former they offer their proofs,

1. *His Letter to the Pope, when he was in* Spaine.
2. *The Articles of Marriage, both with the* Spanish *and* French.
3. That he had an *Agent* in *Rome*.
4. *That by the Queen and the Earl of* Ormond *he offered a Toleration unto the Irish Papists, though he had formerly vowed against it, as also to take off the Penall Laws.*
5. *His entertaining of a* Nuncio *here.*
6. *His leaving of Elands with Secretary* Windebank, *a notorious favourer of Papists, when he went to* Scotland, *where he denied a* Commission to the Parliament *as they desired.* Letters *of the said* Secretary; *whereupon he durst not endure the Examination, but fled.*

The latter is confirmed many ways, as

1. *By a plain Designe the Queen had in hand, helped forward by a* Fast.

2. *An*

3. *An Information given upon Oath to the Archbishop.*
4. *An Apprehension of a Servant of the Queen-Mother.*
5. *Speeches of the Rebels in Ireland.*
6. *Unusuall Preparations of Armes and Ammunition, Mounting Guns on the* Tower.

Nay, 6. *Found in Papists houses.*

7. *Commissions given them to visit, &c.*

The King clear'd from the Aspersion of Popery.

Indeed, it was necessary to rake together so many Circumstances, whereby to pin this *vizard* on again, which was even fallen off; when the *Kings* owne strict and pious Life, continuall defence of the true *Protestant* Religion against all Opposition, and his highest and *publick, solemne Protestations*, even upon the receiving of the *Holy Sacrament*, being added to divers strong Presumptions doe stifle him. It is not unknown to us now, that his Father, of blessed Memory, sending some *Ministers* into *Spaine* after him, charged them to have a *care of Buckingham*; as *for his Son* Charles, *he durst trust him* for *perseverance in his Religion*. What a slight advantage did the *King* take to rid his hands of the *Queen's Priests*? What strict Commands did he give, that none should be permitted to enter into her Chappell, who was not her Meniall Servant? We know, that nor the *Queen's* owne power with him, nor the Mediation of her friends about him, could extend to displace a poore *Porter* at Saint *James's*; who for keeping out a *Citizen*, that under pretence of being her Servant would have prest in, for to go to the *Chappell*, and for such other strict performances of *His Majesties* commands, had much incens'd her.

We remember also his severe *Edicts* and *Proclamations* against those of that Religion in generall, his Instructions to his Ministers for their prosecution, his *Banishment of Doctor* Smith *Bishop of Calcedon*. If his under-Officers failed of their duties, it is but justice to fix the Saddle upon the right horse. What Law did he ever refuse, (nay, hath he not called on them to offer) for the *Education* of *Popish* Children in the *Protestant Religion*, for their better *Conversion*, or further Punishment, and that even at times

of his dis-advantage and danger to dis-oblige any of his Subjects? I have heard many of the *Papists* revile him, under that notion, that *he would give them all up as a sacrifice for to compasse a peace with his Parliament, though they have continued loyall to him in his extremity.*

They themselves have published such Letters of his (never intended for their view, written in private to his Queen, with whom, if with any one alive, he would be free sure in that point) wherein he declares himself *to be different in judgement from her.* What need we say more? Though at the first, when the war was commenc'd, Master *Hampden* being asked by a *Minister*, why *Religion* was made a cause of it? gave this account, that *the people would not stir else*; yet Master *Martin* hath in the House, and divers other places bin so ingenuous, as to tel them, *They need not lie for a good Cause, It was not* Religion *they fought for, but* Liberty.

1. *The Charge from the Letter to the Pope answer'd.*

1. For *the Letter to the Pope*, It is so fully answered in a Book called *Vindicia Carli*; and in another Treatise called, *The Preheminence and Priviledge of Parliament*, that I need not insist thereon. The *Prince* being upon a Match with *Spaine*, it could not be passed, in regard of the difference of his Religion, but by a Dispensation from the *Pope*. Yet although he had left all that Transaction to the *Spaniard*, to avoid intercourse with him, yet the *Pope* taking his advantage, writes a Letter to the *Prince*. Being at this ward, I see not, how even in *Civility* (especially considering the Preciseness & Punctuality of that Nation in all Courtship and Complement) as also in *safety* (as being in the hands of Strangers) and to the *securing of the Match* (the maine Businesse he came for) he could forbeare to answer it. Yet was it done by him with that Wisdome and Care, as it might give no offence; and by the severest Censure of an unbyassed Reader, that understands the Language, not swell at all of any Complyance in Religion. Moreover, that it might beare no ill sense, as of a clandestine Correspondence, he was pleased to publish it to the world.

It is no strange thing to write even *to the Turke*, (which the two Houses have offered our Merchants to doe for them) or

to the King of Navarre, that are Malcontents, to Princes of what Nation or Religion soever. But if you doe observe it, this their Owne Weapon wounds themselves and shames for the King, for what needed a Dispensation, if the King had been of that Religion?

2. *The Charge from the Articles of Mariage with Spaine and France, Answered.*

The Articles of Marriage with *Spain* and *France* are fully satisfied in that fore-mentioned Book, *Vindicia Caroli*; yet if any have not seen or perused that Book, Let him take this short account here:

1. That a particular *Toleration* had a former president, even in Q. *Elizabeth*, (whom they never durst accuse for a favourer of Papists) in those Articles of Marriage, which were consented to, with the Duke of *Anjou*. Where, by the way, you may take notice, that in her time, Master *Stubs*, a Lawyer, but a great Professour, and one Master *Page* had their hands cut off, for writing a Tract against that Match, which they had entituled, *The Mariage of a Child of God with the Son of Antichrist*. *Camb. Eliz. An.* 3, 4, 5, & 6.

2. That if the Intelligence were true (which these Accusers take from an ordinary *News-monger* or *Mercury*) of an universal Toleration agreed upon, it was *Instantia majoris Boni*. The *Palatinate* was to be restored again, and the *Protestants* of *Germany* to be re-enstated in *their Possessions* upon that Condition.

3. That this was King *James* his Act, not King *Charles* his, who was onely passive therein, and to whose hand these Articles were beaten before his comming into *Spaine*.

4. That they were never any *Prejudice* to this Kingdome, because the Match with *Spain* was broken, and therefore should be no Objection. The Articles of the Mariage with *France* (which went forward) had the same reasons, and so are answered.

3. *That of the Agent at* Rome, *Answered.*

1. The *Agent* in *Rome*, if any, was from the Queen, and not the King.

2. Grant it to have been from the *King* (which is not true) he may surely claime as much liberty that way, as Q. *Elizabeth*, who had an Embassadour, or Agent, namely, Sir *Edward Carne*, with the *Pope in Rome*, *Camb. Elim.* 1554. at the beginning of her Reigne; yet was never under any Suspition for it. *Kings* have, or ought to have their Espyals and Intelligencers in all places, from which there is possibility of danger to their Dominions. I have heard, *Q. Elizabeth* had, even in the *Popes* owne Family, and in the *Colledges* of the *Jesuits*. Their Projects against us could not better be dis-appointed, then by thus picking the Locks of their very Bosomes.

4. *That of* Toleration *answer'd.*

That he offer'd a *Toleration* to the *Papists* in *Ireland*, contrary to his former Resolutions, was but upon great and pressing Necessity (which hath no Law;) and to that degree of Necessity the two *Houses* had driven him, so the consequences were to be set upon their Score, not his owne: yet even then, in his Letters about that Affaire (published by themselves) he doth insist on it, *That the Bargain may be made as good, as can be, for him.* But I have seen other Letters from one of his *Secretaries* to the *Irish*, which I am ensur'd were true; wherein were these Expressions, after Expostulation of their delaies in his Assistance, *He is inform'd that taking advantage of his low condition, you insist on something in Religion, more than formerly you were contented with. He hath therefore commanded me to let you know, that were his Condition much lower, you shall never force him to any further Concessions to the prejudice of his Conscience, and of the true Protestant Religion, in which he is resolved to live, and for which he is ready to die; and that he will joyne with any Protestant Prince, may with these Rebels themselves, how odious soever* (meaning his two Houses) *rather then yeild the least to you in this particular.*

The same retorted.

Besides, herein the Parliament doth somewhat justifie him; For if the *Papists* themselves may be believ'd, they have been so-

licited

licited formerly to serve the *Parliament*, and were promised by some of their Agents an *universall Toleration*, and a Repeale of the *Penall Statutes*, which is the more credible, because *Henry Martin* told them in the House, (not long since) That he had a *Petition* from all the *Papists* in *England* for one, and was their Advocate for it, though unseasonably. Nay, many of the *Independent* Writers, (who never received check for it from the House) doe in their Books not onely allow, but give reasons for it. And in the Compositions for Delinquency, (though the two Houses pretended them to be without Capacity thereof) They were admitted, nay and at lower Rates and with more favour, then many zealous *Protestants*, who had been lesse active in this warre.

5. *That of the* Nuncio, *Answered.*

1. The *Nuncio's* businesse was meerly to the *Queen*, and he a Lay-man.

2. It is no Courtship, to forbid an ordinary mans Wife all entercourse with those of her own Religion, though different from that of her Husband; nor is it the way to convert her. I am perswaded divers of both Houses have been guilty of that Allowance. Yet the Right of a *Queen* is greater, and it was an Article of Mariage.

3. It might have been afforded with lesse Regret for to smooth Her Majesty, and to take off the Remembrance of the *banishment* of *her Priests*.

4. The Man was of so weak Parts, and of so loose a life, that his Company might have been borne withall the better, to serve as a Dissuasive from his Religion, as the *Lacedemonians* used by the apish and uncouth behaviour of Drunkards to possesse their young Children with a perfect hatred of that *vice*.

5. Assoon as it was discovered distastfull, or of danger, he had his *Mittimus*.

6. *That*

6. Then of the Blanks left with Windebanke, *and of his* Letters *and Flight, Answered.*

1. Whosoever knows the Custome of the *Court*, knows it to be no strange matter of Trust with a *Secretary of State*, to be imployed in any sudden emergency, when there cannot be recourse unto the *King*; especially when there are generall *Instructions* left, and sometimes the very matter made ready, the forme only referred to his discretion. Nay further, there are some of the *House of Commons* can testifie, how familiar it is for a *Secretary* of State to entrust the same with his owne *Secretaries*; and how impossible it is to dispatch businesses of *haste* and *necessity* without some such remedy. I have heard, the like is not unusuall with his *Excellency the Lord Fairfax*, and other Great Commanders, to give their Servants of Trust, leave to subscribe their names for them, in matters of common concernment. I am sure Col. *Main-wayring* the *Passe-maker*, (*which was the best Trade he ever drove*) in time of greatest danger to the City and affrightment also, left his *Head and Sadle* with many of his Servants, to fill up with the names of such Persons, as they should think fit. Nay, but doe not the *Houses themselves* daily so, or more in matters of high concernment, by their Power delegated unto the *Keepers of the Great Seale*, *Privy-Seale*, and their ordinary *Courts of Justice*, their *Secretary of State*, and persons officiating in Trust under them?

2. If he were a notorious favourer of Papists, His Majesty might likely not know so much of him; Servants being generally studious to conceale their faults from their Masters.

3. If His Majesty did know it, yet Places of Trust have been often delegated by Princes to such as have been of a Perswasion contrary to theirs, whom they have found Persons capable thereof. Even Q. *Elizabeth* her selfe did send the Viscount *Montacute* upon an Embassy to *Spaine*, in behalf of the *Scots*, and to justifie the *Protestant Religion*, though he were a *Papist*, as *Camden* hath it in *her Life*.

Now whereas it is added, the King would not leave any such with his Parliament:

1. The Case is different, if it be meant, with them for passing

of

of Acts, which were not repealable by himself, whereas the *Secretary* was accomptable for his Transactions; and his deeds, They if not answerable to His Majesties desires, capable of reversion by His Majesty.

2. There was no need in so short an absence of His Majesty, whilest Bills are so long in debate, before they come to their Perfection. For *His Letters* we can give no accompt, unlesse we knew their purport. He might run away justly, and in providence which every man oweth to himself. He saw the House of Commons begin to ramp upon him, and he knew how easie it was for them to find a staffe to beat a dog withall, and make a just quarrell when they had an edge against any man.

That of the Plot to destroy all the Protestants in England, *Answered.*

But the Plot to cut all the *Protestants* throats is so brim-full of Malice, that it confutes it self.

1. It is well known, there are not in all above 24000 Papists convicted, in all *England* and *Wales*; allow as many more without that capacity (for sure, when you shall have deducted the old decrepit Men and all the Women their number will not be much above.) Now how these *Papists* should *procure* a *Armes*, embody (and no discovery be made of it) so as to become considerable, and if all in a *Body*, accomplish the Ruine of above a *Thousand* for *One*, is incomprehensible; yea though each one had the hands of *Gerion* and *Briareus*, and in each hand the Club of *Hercules*. The *Protestants* had need first be tame Creatures, then these late Broyles have shewed them to be. In *Ireland*, where the Papists and Natives are five hundred to one, what a tough piece of work have they found it, to root them out? and now we hope they may drink of the same Cup they provided for Others.

2. The *King* in that case must be look'd on, as void of *common understanding*, who would devest himself of the *Monarchy* over so many Millions of men, that he might have it, only over 24000 to inhabit this spacious Territory; nay, and some of them like to come short home.

1. *That of the Queens pious Designe, Answered.*

The *Queens pious Designe* was knowne to be nothing more then a Contribution, by way of Assistance to her Husband against the *Scots*, whom he then look'd upon, as his Enemies. And to that Expedition divers of themselves, divers of the *Upper House* afforded their helping hand under the same notion, *Essex, Holland, Northumberland, Salisbury, &c.* And why was the fault greater in a Wife to assist her Husband, then in Subjects, their King?

2. *That of the Qu. Mothers Servant, Answered.*

The *Q. M. servant*, for ought we know, may *lie* as wel as *swear*, If it be the *Man* we guesse [illegible] *is of little credit*, even among his own *Nation*. Nay, the *Ministers* and *Protestants* of their *Churches* here (though the *man* pretend to be under the *notion* of a *Convert*, and a *Protestant* now, though formerly a *Papist*) give him but a base *report*. And we cannot think, it is for nothing, that he hath been bolsterd up, in the *murther of his own Wife*, under the pretence of *Physick*, in the *oppression* of her *Children*, which *she* had by a *former Husband*, and in the *prosecution* of a worthy *Gentleman*, her *Brother*.

3. *That of the suggestion to the Arch-bishop, Answered.*

The suggestion to the *Arch-Bishop*, was by one *Habernfield*, a *Bohemian*, from a *Priest* in *Rome*, first given to Sir *William Boswell* in *Holland*, and so sent over; in which the principall persons to be made away, were the *King* and the *Arch-Bishop*, for their being so much against the *Romish Religion* and purposes. But this Circumstance is (wisely enough) conceald by these *Accusers*. Can any reasonable man let his belief so run riot, as to be perswaded, the *King* should drive on a Plot, apparently to his own destruction? How blind will malice make? whither will it not transport?

Of the *Irish Rebels* words we shal speak in a more proper place.

4. *That*

4. *That, of the Armes in* Papists *houses, Answered.*

The Armes and Ammunition in *Papists* houses, were a Bow and Arrows with one brown Bill. This cals to our mind the Training under ground, the blowing up of the *Thames*, &c. Is it not Impudence even to a Prodigie, to think (now the Scales are fallen from our eyes) thus to mock and befool us still?

5. *That of the Ammunition, and Preparations about* White-Hall *and the* Tower, *Answered.*

Unusuall Provision of Ammunition, fire-workes, &c. about the *Tower* and *White-Hall*, mounting Ordinance upon the White-Tower, &c. was made indeed, but only in Order to security, at that seditious and tumultuous time. Would these good men think it a just Challenge against them, Now that they have mann'd *White-Hall* with ten times the number, and the *Mewes* to boote, Now that they have raised Batteries in the *Tower*, mounted Cannon, cleansed the ditches, brought in a Garrison of strangers, and laid aside or over-fired the ordinary Guard, That therefore they intend to destroy the *Presbyterians*, or the rest of the Kingdome?

6. *That of Commissions to* Papists, *Answered.*

Commissions were indeed given to the *Papists*, but since the war was begun, and I would faine learne, what Priviledge the *Papists* have, from being imployed in defence of their King; and whether it had been wisdome in us to hazard our selves, and that the Protestants should spend their Mettle one upon another, while they sate still and looked on. Yet I cannot compute upon the most severe survey, that the hundredth Commission was issued unto Papists. What danger could there be in that disproportion?

7. *The Charge against* His Majesty *of Tyranny.*

The third Charge against His Person is of *Tyranny*, and an Endeavour to *enslave* us, which is proved, 1. By *His Principles*, in

regard he holds forth to us in his Declarations, That he *is liable to Account, for nothing he doth, to any man*; and that *nor one nor both Houses of Parliament can make, or declare a Law*. 2. *By his Practises*, as 1. In *attempting to enslave us by the German-Horse*. 2. By the *Spanish fleet*.

That Charge Answered.

To the first, The *Principle* which the *King* holds out, was ever taken for Truth heretofore.

1. All his *Predecessors* in this, all *Soveraigne Princes* in other *States* have made claime hereto, (and for ought I have heard, were never questioned before for it.) To passe by King *James* and all others which might admit exception, Hear what Queen *Elizabeth* saith, *Although Kings and Princes Soveraigne, owing their Homage and service only unto Almighty God, the King of all Kings, and in that respect not bound to yeild account or render a reason of their Actions to any other but God their Soveraigne yet (though among the most ancient and Christian Monarchs, the same Lord God hath committed unto us the Soveraignty of this Kingdome of England, and other Dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty God, and so thereby accompt only to his Divine Majesty,) We are, notwithstanding this our Prerogative, moved to declare, &c.* In a Declaration of the causes moving her to give assistance to the Netherlands, printed by her own Printer, 1585.

2. *The Lawyers* of the Kingdome have constantly taught us the same, who call the King *Caput & Principium Parliamenti, Pater Patriæ*, the *Head and beginning of his Parliament*, the *father of his Country*; who also tell us expressly, *Omnis sub Rege, Ipse sub nullo, nisi Deo. Non est inferior sibi subjectis*, and *Rex non habet superiorem, nisi Deum, satis habet ad pœnam, quod Deum expectat ulterem*. The King *hath no Peere in this* Land, and *he cannot be judged*. The *Regality of the Crown of* England *is immediately subject to God, and to none other*.

3. This very *Parliament* hath made a tacite acknowledgment hereof, as well as all others, by taking the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, by making their Addresses to the King under the notion of his *leige* men, and most *humble subjects*, and by their very Petitions.

4. It

4. It hath been the practise of all Ages, and was of this present Parliament, to declare the King, even in those things which had been acted by his Commands, and to fall upon the Ministers; according to the sense of that Law-Maxime, *The King can do no wrong*. It were strange now, that the Children might call the Father to an account, The Heele lift it self against, or the Members question the Head, The Subject over-top the Soveraigne. The Fable hath a good Morall, and I doubt is verified in our times. The Taile of the Dragon once made that pretence of Governing against the Head; but having obtained the liberty to Lead, after a great deale of toyle led all the Body into a ditch. But this being granted and proved, how will the consequence enfue? It is not the exemption from Accompt, which makes a Tyrant, but owning no Law, making his Will and Pleasure to be the standard of all his Actions. There is no State, wherein there is not an *ultimus Judicatura*, which is not to be Accomptable. By this rule all Government should be Tyrannous.

5. That both *Houses* can make no Law, they themselves confesse, I am sure the Lord *Cooke* in his fourth Booke, Printed by their own speciall Command, doth often. That they can declare a Law is against reason. If the *King* be necessary to the making, doubtlesse he is also to concur in the Interpretation, or else unto what purpose doth his Councell serve? But to arrogate a Power to *declare* a Law, contrary to the evident sense or interpretation received ever since it was made, even though a hundred or a thousand years, is a monstrous usurpation, and the greatest evidence of a *Tyrannicall* spirit, that is possible. If they have a power to interpret only according to the evidence of the letter, or former acceptation, where then is the Privilege? and what need there be a quarrell?

That of the German *Horse*, Answered.

1. The Horse out of *Germany* was but in *Proposall*, never resolved on, much lesse put in execution. Now an *Embrio* is no perfect man, nor a Designe to be esteemed a Fact, much lesse is a base Proposall.

2. It appears to be rather the *Duke's* doing, who at that time tooke

took upon him the manageg of most affaires in this Kingdome. And why should they make the *King* black with the *Dukes* faults, if that were one?

But 3. the true designe of those *Horse*, was onely to *discipline* our *English*, and make them more expert for *forreigne Employments* (as it may be remembred, we had divers *old Foot-soldiers* and *Officers* out of *Holland* for a while to that purpose) and how unskilfull our *Nation* was therein, as also of what Consequence it was, Our *Army* in the *Isle of Ree* was a fatall evidence; and since that, their owne *Armies* have felt at *Worcester*, *Edge-hill* and other Fights; untill by frequent Experience, and the great pains of some *Dutch* and *Scotch* Officers they were made formidable.

4. The Instruments, whose Counsels were used in this great pretended Crime, who made the first offer to raise and conduct those Horse, have been harbour'd in the bosome of the *House*, and imployed in Places of signall trust, as Sir *William Balfour*, *Dalbiere*, *&c.*

That of the Spanish Fleet, *Answered.*

Rather then they will want a Charge, the *Spanish fleet* shall furnish them with one, though *brought into our Havens* by meer *necessity*, being *pursued* by the *Hollanders*, and having *shot* their *Powder*. Poor King *Charles!* How is he burdened and even prest downe, upon whom not his *own Actions* onely are charged, but *those* of his *Servants*, *those* of his *Court*, *those* of *Strangers*; nay, and *those* of meer fortune and Contingency? If this *expedition* of the *Spaniard* were by the *Kings contrivance* or *privity*, why did he *sit still*, permitting them to be assaulted within his *own Harbours*? why did he suffer his *owne Ships* to be idle Spectators of *their Ruine*? How comes it, that there never followed thereupon the least *expostulation* for so *great a losse*, from the *King of Spaine*? It is well knowne, the *Spaniards* were wasted in *Flanders*, the *Natives* began to know their owne strength, and were in hand with a Machination to shake off the *Spanish* yoake from their *necks*, in emulation of their *Brethren* of the *United Provinces*. There was but need then of a *recruit*, which could not be compassed without sending a strong Fleet to convey men into *Flanders*;

Flanders; And this was the *Fleet*, which we quietly beheld *beaten* and *scattered*. Mean time, what miserable shifts are these men at home put unto, when they are glad to catch after such shadows, thereby to bring an *envy and hate* upon their *King*?

The whole Charge of Tyrannicall Government made good upon Themselves.

1. If it be *exemption from Account*, which constitutes a *Tyrannicall Government*, the *two Houses* cannot wash their hands of it, by their *owne Rules*; no men pretending to *higher Privileges therein*; no men seeking to fortifie themselves more, against all possibility of being *reckoned withall*.

2. If the Characters, which *Aristotle* in the 4. of his *Politicks*, *chap.* 10. assigneth, and most other *States-men* unto Tyrannicall Rule, be true, *the Parliament have out-done all Tyrants in all Ages*.

The Badges are these,

First, *To acknowledge no Boundary of Law to their Actions, besides their own will.*

2. *To rule by violence over their Equals and Superiors.*

3. *To regard mainly their owne private Utility, not the Publick.* Examine their Proceedings by these Marks, and you shall find them suitable to a haires breadth. Is not much of this *quarrell* for the repeal of Lawes formerly established? Doth not the *King* continually invite, provoke them to this Touchstone? Nay what *law*, that stood in their way, have they not suspended, or annulled? Their whole *Ecclesiasticall Government* is besides, nay against clear law. Their *Secular* hath been altogether *Arbitrary*; for what law warrants their *Militia*, their dealing thus with *His Majesty*, their Imprisonments, Oppressions, Extortions? And what law had they for *alienating the Bishops lands*, not only from the *Bishops*, but from the *whole Clergy* too ever?

Lastly, (that I be not infinite) *what Law* to cut off Canterbury's *Head*, *to murther* Tomkins, Challoner? *&c.*

2. How could they possibly maintaine their Power without an *Army*? do they not trample and revel it *over their Lords* and *Masters* (we will say nothing now of *His Majesty*, their *Sove-*

raigne,

reigne, whom they insult upon.) Have not they set their feet upon the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the *Kingdome*? ruin'd and undone them? wherein themselves for a great part are of the *basest* among the people; Among whom (except what they can reckon their *Places* at) a *hundred* cannot make one *thousand pounds* by the yeare.

3. *What have they done for the Publick?* Though it be a bold, I feare it is a true Challenge, *John Lilburne* makes, (which I am tempted once more to observe) *I here challenge them to shew me one deed, they have done from the beginning of their Convention for the benefit of the people.* We are sure they have not been wanting to themselves. All *Places* of *profit* are distributed among their *Members*. Our *monies*, to the summe of 3 or 4000000l. are put up in their *bags*. Our *Persons* are at their *devotion*. Their *Priviledges* are *what they list*. The truth is, All the *evidences* of *tyranny* against all the Kings of *England*, untill this present age, could not amount unto so much, as the *two Houses* have bin guilty of, within these very few years. Nay, it was impossible, for all the *Kings* of *England* ever to attaine unto it; so true a *Prophet* was even Master *Hampden*, who, when some expressed much impatience at the *want* of a Parliament, *wished them to pray for a good one; for nothing could undoe* England, *but a Parliament*.

The fifteenth Personall Charge, That he hated Parliaments.

That he was a Hater of Parliaments, they do back with these Proofs:

1. *That he never called any in twelve yeare.*
2. *Prohibited all speech of any.*
3. *Dissolved them at his pleasure.*
4. *Searched the Closets and Pockets of the Members after Dissolution.*
5. *Imprisoned others, which prov'd the occasion of their death.*
6. *Even in Parliament, charged 5 of their Members.*
7. *Offered them violence in his owne Person, attended by a Traine of Papists and others.*

8. *Endeavoured*

8. *Endeavoured to over-awe them, by bringing the Northern Army to* London, *and that when he had declared against it.*

9. *Called a Mock-Parliament at* Oxford.

10. *Raised War against this Parliament, which never King did against any, but He.*

11. *Upbraided his owne at* Oxford *with the Name of a Mungrell-Parliament.*

The Improbability of this Charge.

1. This cannot be eaſily admitted for a truth, That the *King* ſhould hate a *Parliament*: If you conſider,

1. That he was an *Advocate* for them in his *Fathers* time, and by his Endevour procured many good Laws for them in his dayes, which was *confeſſed* in the *Parliament*, as you may find in the *Journall* thereof.

2. That to give them ſatisfaction, he preſſed his Father againſt his Reſolution and Reaſon to begin a War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and obtained it: though King *James* like a Prophet told him, *That it was not their Hate toward the Houſe of Auſtria, nor their Zeale to the* Proteſtant *Cauſe, which moved them to put him upon that ſuit, But a deſigne to bring him into a* Nooſe; *that being in diſtreſſe by reaſon of it, they might diſcover him, and then make their Markets of the Crowne*: And he did particularly acquaint him with the ſteps and Gradations, which they would proceed in; firſt queſtion and ſtrip him of his *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, then bind his hands from making other Proviſion for himſelf; afterwards bring him upon his knees to them.

3. Since his *Reigne*, never any *King* called more *Parliaments* then *He*, for ſo ſhort a ſpace, notwithſtanding thoſe *twelve years* Intermiſſion.

4. All the *Kings* of *England* never offered more *compliance*, or performed more *Acts of Grace*, then *He* did.

5. Laſtly, few *Kings* have teſtified a greater deſire of *correſpondence with*, or of *condeſcention* to a *Parliament*, then *His Majeſty* hath done by this:

Intruſting up his faithfull Servants, to be diſpoſed of according to their will, even againſt his *Conſcience*.

2. *In offering them* (as it were) a *Blanke*, *Jan.* 10. 1640. which is to be seen in their own Book of *Declarations*.

3. *In giving up so many Bishops* (whose Votes for the most part were at his devotion) *to be expelled the House of Lords.*

4. Lastly, *In the establishment of this Parliament by a Law, during their owne Arbitrement.*

1. *The Charge from the disuse of Parliament for twelve years, Answered.*

To the first particular, I answer: 1. By way of Concession; that *Parliaments* were under long disuse.

But 2. that it might be out of some fore-sight and sense of this tumultuous Spirit in its secret workings, of which the *King* might think by *abstinence* and *rest* to correct their *Luxuriancy*. It argues no hate to a *Parliament*, to desire it might contain it self in the bounds of its ancient *moderation*; and so a fair *correspondency* be maintained between the *Crowne* and the *People*. And this Judge *Hutton* in his *Argument* could not chuse but touch upon, if you please to peruse him.

3. Notwithstanding this reason for it, *His Majesty* had made an acknowledgement hereof as of an Errour, engaging himself to redresse it for the future.

Nay, 4. did apply himself to that particular way, which themselves propos'd, a *Triennial Parliament*.

5. Further yet, when they gave not *Satisfaction*, by a *Law* confirmed this present *Parliament* to the length of their own desires.

2. 3. *That for Breaking up of Parliaments, and forbidding all Speech thereof, Answered.*

1. Herein *His Majesty* did no more than all his *Predecessors*. Look upward, and you will find it practised. *If it were against* the words of a law, yet *usage* makes the law of the Kingdome, and *supersedes* the Letter. Suppose it an Errour, why should it be a *Charge* upon the *King*, and never objected unto His *Father*, Qu. *Elizabeth*, Qu. *Mary*, K. *Edward*, K. *Henry* 8. and so upward?

2. The

2. The *King* did never Dissolve any, but upon their own *distempers* and for *mutinous deportment*; and then it was *providence* to cure an *evill* in the *beginning*, and *crush a serpent* in the *shell*.

3. This very *House of Commons* doth at this time entertaine within their walls, one Instrument of the *dissolution* of the last before this, I mean Sir *Henry Vane*, whose false *suggestions* were the *occasion* of the *Kings* Breaking it up. If you have not heard the *story*, then take here the plain truth of it:

The Parliament was willing to give the King a summe, *in consideration of* Ship-money; *and an offer was made, so the* King *would relinquish his title thereunto of* six Subsidies. His Majesty *was willing to comply, and in order thereunto gave Sir* Hen. Vane *and others a command to signifie so much unto the House. But Sir* Henry, *contrary to the directions, demands and insists on* Twelve. *Whereupon, the House is put into some distemper; which Sir* Henry *represents unto His Majesty with the utmost Aggravation, and some Addition too, whereupon His Majesty* Dissolves it.

Searching of Pockets, and afterwards Imprisoning, Answered.

To this we give this accompt, 1. That it was no *Breach of Privilege*, when the *Parliament* was dissolv'd. The *Elements* are but of ordinary use, *extra rationem Sacramenti*: by that time they were reduced to their proper *sphear*; and why may not the *King* upon reasons of *State*, send to search the *Pockets* and *Closets* of any private man? when he found the *correspondence* between his *Kingdom* and *himself* to be *broken*, who could blame him to *search* the *cause of it* to the bottome, that he might *prevent it* for the future?

Though the King did imprison them, it was in an Honourable way; he made them such an Allowance, that Master *Long* hath professed, he spent the King 1 yool. there; after which rate perhaps it might be of a Surfet, that those died, who are objected.

3. Themselves never made daiaty of it to *imprison* their *own Members*, during their *Session*, without any *cause exprest* in their *Warrants*, and without any *Allowance* for their *subsistance*. What

was Commissary General *Copy* imprison'd for, these *six months*? Some say, for nothing but *telling what a clock it was*, at a *Committee*. Others have been for as long a time, and for as little reason.

The Kings charging of the 5 Members, answered, and retorted.

1. This is true indeed, that the *King* did *charge* or *impeach* so many of the *House*: but then,

2. *His Majesty* had some reason sure. Whosoever reads the *Articles*, and compares the *Consequences*, will find them high enough, and be convinced of their truth.

3. If you consider the *King's* proceedings thereupon, his Retractation of his own way and error in the *processe*, if it fulfilled with any *unknown Priviledge*, his desire of their *direction*, and (when nothing else would give Content) his utter with-drawing of the *Charge*, and if you reflect withall upon what other *Princes* have done, what the Law gives out, to wit, *There is no Protection for Treason*, you cannot chuse, but admire his *lenity*.

4. This is no more, then they have suffered, if not encouraged the *Army*, (their own Servants) to doe, unto double that number of their *Houses*, and some of the same *Members*, that had been charged by the *King*; and this too upon lesse *ground*, if any at all.

5. I could tell them of Doct. *Parry*, a *Member* of that *House* in Q. *Elizab.* time, who was not onely *charged*, but *taken there*, *condemned* at the *Kings-bench* for *Treason* against the *Queens Person*, *drawn* and *hanged* before *Westminster-Hall-gate*, at the very *time* the *Members* repaired to the *House*. I could tell them of more then this, but I passe it over.

The Kings going to the House, answered, and retorted.

1. Though *His Majesty* went unto the *House*, there was no *assault* made or intended by him, as far as can appear, without their Comment. It had been a desperate attempt, with so few to set upon so many, and those backt by so great a power, and had

had ſerv'd themſelves ſo far into the affections of the *City*. If any wild *expreſſion* fell from the mouth of one or two of his *opinion*, why were they not ſeized on and queſtioned?

2. This hath been ſo often acknowledged for an Errour by him, yet ſtill objected by them, that me-thinks they might bluſh at this mention of it.

3. What did he doe therein, which themſelves had not been guilty of before it, and much out-done ſince? We remember the *robuſtious Petition* of the *Porters*, and we know at what rates ſome of them were *hired*, by what *devices* others were *cheated* thereinto, it being told them, *it was a Petition, that Water-men ſhould be prohibited to carry Burdens*. The *Pouſting of Names*, expoſing the *Members* of different judgment to the fury of the *madding Multitude*, was a kind of *Force* ſure. So were the *Shouts of Citizens*, who came upon *their Invitation* and *encouragement* to cry *for Juſtice*. If *theſe* were not, we are certaine the *Remonſtrando's* were (for many of them ſmelt ill then, and Horrour was ſeen in the faces of moſt:) which the *Army* taxeth ſome *Members* withall. And the *Petitions, Remonſtrances, Declarations, Advance of the Army*, in their *Juriſdiction ſince*, are a violence beyond diſpute.

Bringing the Army to London, *anſwered, and retorted.*

1. None of thoſe *Examinations* (which we have read over, all of them) doe hold out clearly, that the *King* did intend to bring them up to *London*, onely to put them in a poſture for his Service.

2. This was limited, according to the *Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome*, and the *Liberty of the Subjects*.

3. It amounted but to a *Petition*, which is printed, and may be read in the *firſt Vol.* of the *Dreſ.*

4. This came from the *Officers* unto the *King* and thoſe *Members of Parliament*. Now in that conjuncture of Affaires, wherein was the *King* to blame? when the Soldiers were diſcontented, the *Parliament* grew high, there were viſible Symptomes of an *intention* to *model* the *State* anew, to caſt out the *Government* of the *Church*. If the *King* did ſo far *comply with them*, as to *allow*;

nay, to *countenance* them, by an humble Petition to represent their sense of the Innovations they feared, and of a Breach of the Laws of the Land, How happy had it been for us, if it had proceeded and taken place? Is it not the same, which this Army hath accomplished to the destruction of the Law, and dissolution of all legall Authority?

The Raising of War against them, Answered.

The raising of the War will be Answered in another place. As for the Aggravation (a thing never done but by King *Charls*) it is no wonder; since never King needed before to deale with a *Parliament* by Armes: One Breath of his mouth was enough to dissolve them.

The Mock-Parl. at Oxford, *Answerd, and retorted.*

The *Mock-Parliament* was not to be so slightly thought of. Themselves and their owne men, the Army, appeale to the equitable construction of the Law. And if so, pray what equity would justifie this *Parliament* about That? *The King* is confessedly one Estate, *The Lords* with him were two for one, twenty or more *Earles*, as many *Barons*, when two *Lords* made up a *House* here often, and Ten were thought a goodly number. Nay the *House of Commons* there were neer upon the number with those that stuied here. Did the wals at *Westminster* make a *Parliament*? surely, in the equitable construction, those Gentlemen made it much rather, who were called together by the *Kings* Writ, and sent by their respective *Counties* and *Burroughs*. But why do we dispute that? Did not many of these men, that talke thus, see themselves? Did they not eat up an Engagement with the *Army*? Was there not an intention at least of another *Mock-Parliament*? If their Returne to *Westminster* had not been so quick and easie, we cannot forbear to thinke, they would actually have done the selfe-same thing themselves, which they thus condemn in others.

The Mungrel Parliament, Answered.

The *King* hath sufficiently explained himself for that matter, that he used that Expression in reference to the *Earle of Sussex* and his faction, who had made a breach in that fair Correspondence, that was maintained them formerly.

The Charge of Crimes done by his Ministers.

We proceed from the pretended faults, which relate immediately to the *Kings* owne person before this Rupture with the *Parliament*, unto those done by his *Ministers*, and those especially under this *Classis*, concerne Oppressions of us in our *Estates*. Of which sort are *the Enforced loanes, Privy-Seales, Coat-and-Conduct-money, Enlarging Forrests, Exacting Customes, Ingrossing Patents, Monopolies, &c.*

The Answer to these in generall.

To these in generall. 1. That they were put in execution in times of great necessity. The *King* was engaged in a bloody war, and by the instrument, encouragement, and promise of this faction of men, and deserted as soone as he was well entered; the best Revenue of the Crown questioned, if not with-held. The *King of Denmarke* loseth for want of supply, *Germany* over-run, the *Palatinate* cast all over *Christendome* in a precipice, great Preparations made round about, *Hostilis adparatus*. What Irregularities might not be excused in such exigencies, by that Supreame Law of Necessity, which beats out all transgressions? 2. None of these were conceived by Himself, many of them were by his Counsell at Law, many were suggested by Mr. *Noy* in particular, his Attorney, a man well versed in the Lawes and ancient Records of the *Kingdome*, one who could have given a good accompt of his Actions, and was once thought a great Champion of the Lawes against Arbitrary Incroachments. 3. There was a *Redresse* offered upon the first Complaint, and the Subject fenced by wholsome Lawes against any such future Attempts. 4. The *Instruments*

ſtruments who firſt contrived, or abetted, and put them in execution, are many of them in both Houſes, many of them in Places of eminent truſt: None of them all ever puniſhed upon this ſcore, but for ſome other fault. In *Particular*,

The Privy-Seales, Answered.

His Majeſty was ſo carefull to ſatisfie his Subjects for what they had lent him this way, that he ſold unto the *City of London*, Land at 12000. l. rent of Aſſiſe, and out of the money due thereupon left and ſecured in the *Chamberlain of London's* hand the ſumme of 120000. l. 15. s. 4. d. to the end that out of this ſuch might be paid, as had formerly lent unto the *King*, either by Privy-Seale, or otherwiſe, which the *City* made this advantage of (not contented with ſuch a bargain, though they paid for the purchaſe, by the very Wood and Timber upon the ground, as the King was informed;) They ſent their Emiſſaries into all Countries, where they knew there were any of the *Kings* Creditors, who were ignorant of this Aſſignment, and agreed with them at under-rates, nay for little or nothing, for the debt they accounted as deſperate, and by that meanes at once deceived the people of their repaymcht, and the King of the reputation of his Juſtice.

Forreſts, Answered.

1. The *King* herein uſed and followed the advice of his Counſell at Law, and of the Lord of *Holland*; yet was his Lordſhip their Confident, until this quarrell divided them.

2. What was done herein, was upon Oath, and by due proceſs at Law.

3. *His Majeſty* remitted his clear Right, where the people were troubled, for inſtance, a great part of the County of *Eſſex*.

4. He allowed them to be bounded by the Countries themſelves.

Enclaſing of Commons, Answered, and retorted.

1. It was done by vertue of Law, which inveſteth him with that power.

2. It

2. It might have been for the benefit, not of the *Kingdome* onely, but of the very particular Inhabitants of those respective places, if Instruments had done their duty.

3. The *Parliament* keeps those in their possessions still, without refunding any Compensation to those they pretend were injured.

4. Nay at this time, they set upon a worke of Enclosure of more then all the Commons in *England*, which have been enclosed these 100. years; I mean the Draining of the *Fennes* in *Lincoln-shire*, whereby thousands of poor people are bereft of their subsistence, The adjacent parts are endammaged by the Torrent of the waters turned upon them to their vast prejudice.

Engrossing of Patents, and Monopolies, Answered.

That I may Answer these, I shall lay for a Ground, That all *Grannts* and *Letters-Patents* of the *King of England* are not *Monopolies*; though concerning Trade, or Manufacture, or the labour of the Subject, or be appropriated to one man or more, as *Charters, Priviledges, to Cities, to Townes Corporate, to Corporations, Companies of Trade, Custome-house-officers, the Registers-office in Chancery* (now enjoyed by Mr. *Miles Corbet* and *Goodwin*, two Members) the Clerks of the *Parliament*, and many such like; which were unquestionably used to be granted by the *Kings* of this Land, in order to the governing and well-being thereof. But those onely, which are notoriously evil before, or discovered to be so after, and are not for the manner of granting them, but for the matter accounted invalid. And therefore many great things of high Concernment to the Common-wealth have justly merited, and to this day do enjoy the warrant of Law and Authority, which were never confirmed by Act of *Parliament*, whilst others of lesse moment have troubled all the three Estates for an Act of *Parliament*, as Hunting the *Hare*, Paving of certaine Streets in *London*, &c.

Now we Answer. 1. That these were suggested by *Citizens* or men skilfull in those wayes and Advantages, which might accrew to the respective Trades or Manufactures, and so redound to the benefit of the Kingdome.

2. That His *Majesty* did always make reference of these to his *Counsell*, and to others learned in the Law, as his *Attorney*, *Solliciter general*, and Masters *of Requests* (as divers yet alive can testifie, and *Judge Jenkins* hath testified to the view of all the world) that they might examine the justice of them, and their proportion to the established Laws, and that *His Majesty* hath often given strict charge of great Caution even unto them in their determinations; by which meanes multitudes of Monopolies which were by *Citizens* and others daily represented and pressed on, were rejected, and the Authors received a Check.

3. That even those Grants, wherein there was no discoverable Inconvenience, but much benefit pretended to the Kingdome, were for the most part made but Probationers by him; whereas either in the Patent it self there was limitation expressed, and a Proviso for their revocation, if they appeared contrary to Law, or of damage to the Kingdome; or there was a Bond entred into by the Parties entrusted unto that purpose.

4. That upon any complaint made against them he caused it to be heard (sometimes did it Personally) at the Councell-Table, where the *Lord Keeper* and the rest of the *Judges* of his Privy Councell assisted him; and about the beginning of the year 1640. when he found the Complaints to multiply against them, instead of hearing the Patentees, he disanulled their Patents by Proclamation.

5. That divers of them are continued untill this day, as the Post-office upon Mr. *Prideaux* of the House, The Lord of *Warwick*, The Merchant Adventurers, The *Greenland* trade, and many more.

6. That this was done in all Kings Reignes, and Errours of this nature have been committed, from *Ed.* 4 *Hen.* 6. to Queen *Elizabeths* time (when they multiplied to a great excesse) and King *James*; and they may be pardoned a Prince, as well as the Inconveniencies of sundry Acts of Parliament, (which have been afterward found a Grievance, and so repealed) the three Estates.

7. That many of those, who either sit in the Houses, or are in great Offices of trust about them, and are their Favourites, were the Contrivers, and Instruments hereof, yet were never under question; as Sir *John Evelin*, who had the first Monopoly of Powder,

Powder; Sir *H. Vane sen.* who wip'd him of it, and settled it upon his own servant, when it was the greatest grievance; Sir *John Trevor*, who perswaded the King to the Imposition upon Coales; Mr. *Saint Johns* and *Cromwell*, who represented and drove on the Draining of the *Fennes*; the Earle of *Holland*, *Millington*, Alderman *Woollaston*, who managed the Monopoly of Gold-and-Silver thread; *Smith*, once Secretary to the Earle of *Northumberland*, now in a great Office. I must omit Mr. *Whitaker*, Alderman *Gibbs*, Mr. *Ralph Freeman*, Solliciteur for Sequestrations in *London*; Mr. *Reading* the Lord Majors Passe-maker; Mr. *Jackson*, Solliciter for Sequestrations in *Westminster*; and multitudes of others, to whom they have offered signall favours since that time, never questioning any of them for their Patents or Monopolies.

Ship-money, Answered.

1. This was first suggested by Mr. *Noy* for Law, who had few equals in the knowledge thereof. 2. Examined and approved by the Lord *Keeper Coventry*, a man of great learning. 3. Subscribed by all the *Judges* of *England*. 4. When it was questioned by Mr. *Hampden*, a free debate was allowed before all the Judges (who give Judgement upon Oath) and the Businesse disputed *Seriatim* for many dayes together, and at last determined for the *King*. In which debate (by the way) His *Majesty* suffered the great *Arcanum* of Government, His *High Prerogative*, to be banded by their Lawyers at a Bar, which these men would never permit to be done by their Priviledges, though they do Petition for them in the beginning of every *Parliament*. What fairer course could have been taken? What better confirmation could the best Right any man hath to his land of Inheritance have then this? 5. If themselves had not been convinced of the justice of the sentence, why did they once offer six Subsidies to purchase the abolishment of it? Why did they not punish those *Judges*, which we find they have been ready to advance; as particularly *Trevor*, who hath not Law, nor Learning, whom they have sent at this time upon the Circuit; *Judge Bramston*, whom they proposed unto His *Majesty* for Chiefe Justice, nay and *Banks*, who was a great Instrument therein, yet one they pitched upon for a place of Eminent em-

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ployment in their first Propositions, &c. 6. Lastly, the *King* condescended to abolish this Ship-money by an Act of Parliament, and why should this be conjur'd up against him?

This Charge of Oppression upon our Estates, by His Ministers and Officers, retorted.

If these were Oppressions, O what have we suffered since, by those who would make us beleeve, they are our Saviours! I dare confidently aver, and can fully prove it, That neither *Danegueld, Taxes, Loanes, Privy-Seales, Ship-money*, &c. Nor all the *Impositions*, and *grievous Burdens* laid upon the Subjects by all the *Kings* since the Conquest, and equalize that Masse of Treasure, which themselves have either in their own persons and to their use, or by their Instruments under pretence of the publike service, squeez'd out of the Subjects of this Kingdome, within these five or six years; and that, for to make good their boundlesse Priviledges, to establish them eternally in their Tyrannous usurpation, and to make our selves with our Posterity vassals for ever unto their vaine and *shuttle Humours*. In particular (to take the blame upon our selves of what we willingly parted withall, and what by their Cheates were smoothly invited out of our Purses) Have they not constrained us under the notion of Loanes and voluntary Contributions to give the *twentieth* and *fift* parts of our Estates unto them; at other times 60000. l. 100000. l. 50. Subsidies, &c. which we should much rather have kept, but that the rest had been too little to expiate our deniall? Have they not ravished our *Children* and *Servants* out of our Armes and Houses, and compelled us not only to afford so poore an Allowance as of *Coat-and Conduct-money*, but of Horses, Armes, and divers *Moneths* pay unto them, nay slaine some of them that have refused, *Women* that have interceded for their *Husbands*, and *Children*? Do not they keep all the *Forrests* in the Kingdome at their disposall, placing Members of their owne therein? If they do not enlarge them, do they not destroy them by cutting down the fairest Timber-trees, &c. to the Kingdomes dammage, though to their proper advantage? do they not project how to improve them by Enclosures and sales, through which hundreds, thou-

thousands of Families must needs foresee their Ruine at hand, who had their subsistance thereby? Are they not now in a hot pursuit of draining the Fenns (to gratifie two Members especially) which are a Common? doe they not detaine in their hands, what Commons were enclosed? doe they not keep on foot divers Monopolies and Impostes? Have they not erected some Monopolies and Offices, which were never before? I will name only the *Projectors Office*, of registring Judgments and Recognizances, which in twenty or thirty years neither King *James*, nor King *Charles* could be induced to grant. But have they not erected one in our Kingdome, which once the Nation could not endure the name of, and unto which all the rest amassed into one body, are but as a Pigmey. I mean the *Excise*, whose benefit is at least 300000*l.* a yeare; yet no publick Charge borne out by all this, though all the *Revenues* of the King, the Queen, the Prince, the Bishops, the Deanes and Chapters, the Delinquents, &c. are in their hands, being almost one moity of the Kingdome; though most of the rich Offices be in their possession; though there be particular *Impositions* besides raised for *Ireland*, for the *Scots*, for the *Army*, and indeed for what not? and though they seize upon that old decryed Grievance of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, while they take no *Ship-money*.

The Charge of the Crimes of his Courts, or such as concern Oppression of us in our Bodies.

The third Charge is in relation to *his Courts*; and here are laid in his Dish our *Personall Oppressions*, as of *cruell Whippings*, *slitting Noses*, *cutting off Eares*, *Fines*, *Imprisonments*, *Racks*, *branding Cheeks*, *&c.*

The Charge answered.

Our Answer is, 1. That these things were done in *Courts of Justice*, and by *men*, who were *responsible*.

2. That these Penalties were inflicted for *high Crimes*, such as formerly had been *capitall*.

3. Upon *turbulent* and *obstinate Offenders*, such as these men

have not been able to hold their hands from, since this *Session of Parliament*.

4. That the *Fines, Imprisonments*, and *rigour* of their *Sentences* were frequently *mollified* and *abated* by *His Majesty*.

5. That those *Courts*, from which these things issued, are *abolished*, through *His Majesties* Grace and Condescension.

6. That none of those *Judges* hath hitherto been *punished*, if at all *questioned* for any *transaction* in the *Star-Chamber*, or *High-Commission-Court*. The *E. of Salisbury* in the *House of Lords*, and Sir *Hen. Vane sen.* in the *House of Commons* were men, who gave their *suffrages* unto that *Sentence* against *Lilburne*, of those *cruell whippings* against *Pryn*, *Bastwick*, and *Burton*, of those *cuttings* and *brandings*; and when were they *charged* therewith? was it so much as once objected against them?

The same, retorted.

These are the severest Courses they can object against *His Majesty*. But are these any more then *Flea-bitings* to what hath been done without punishment, or so much as a Check, by their *Committees*, *Armies*, *Courts of Justice*, nay by their own *Members*? The Barbarismes of their *Committees* (a Name now sufficiently odious) would fill a Volume bigger then the Book of *Martyrs*. Their *whippings*, their *tortures*, their *Imprisonments*, even to the starving of *multitudes*, of not a few equall to the best in their respective Countries, upon *Ship-board*, in such narrow Cabbins, and other places provided on purpose, that they had not roome to stand upright, or lie at length, untill even their Sinews shrunk, their Bodies were eaten by Vermin; And this for no manner of Cause, but their *Conscience*. Nay, we can name the *men*, who have been *sequestred* and *imprisoned* for five or six years and still are so, yet never heard one *Accusation* laid against them unto this day; and others, who have after that been *adjudged Innocent*, yet dare not call for reparation of their Estates, or any Amends for their Sufferance. Their very *Army* and *petty Officers* take upon them to domineer, and play what pranks they list. Among a multitude of their later Cruelties, Let me tell you one *story* from *Sussex*, of a thing done, since all pretence of *Martial-law* hath ceased, and

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in a County where they lived *gratis*, by a formall profeſſe, when moſt of the Gentlemen of the Shire were preſent and interpoſed. *One Mr.* Lover, *a Yeoman of good faſhion, who had formerly ſerved on their Party, was by a Sentence of a Councell of War conſiſting of one Major* Husbands, *one Cornet, and three or four Corporals, at the Market-place in* Lewis *clapt neck and heels together, and uſed there with that ſeverity, that he ſounded upon the place, and hath not to this day recovered his health* (though it were done two moneths ago.) And this for no cauſe, but for telling ſome Soldiers, when he ſaw them in his own grounds *dipping two lewd Women after an obſcene way in a Pond,* That *he could not envy their* Churches *ſuch* Members; *for they were known to be* Whores *by all the* Countrey. After complaint of this *wrong* made to the *Houſe*, it was referred to the *Officers* of the ſame *Regiment* to make enquiry after it, and to puniſh it; which was done by a *Preferment*.

Have they not licenſed a *Villain* to wander about the whole Kingdome, who by *Watchings, Faſtings*, and *Tortures*, compelleth poor ſilly people to confeſſe themſelves *Witches*, and upon that accuſation and proofs as weak, they have loſt their lives? Have they not others to carry away *poor Children*, who under that pretence purloine whatever they can lay their hands upon, and ſend them unto *new Plantations*?

Look to their *Courts of Juſtice* too, you ſhall find *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Country too filled with Clamour againſt them: the poor *Client* eaten up alive, crucified with wearieſome Attendance; his *Purſe* exhauſted by *Bribes*, his *Cauſe* proceeding, like to *Penelope's web*, one day *forward*, and another *backward*; at laſt he hath an *Order* or a *Judgement*, which ſignifies *nothing*, or is the *Scale of his Oppreſſion*. And this muſt be no otherwiſe, while the *Members* over-awe the *Judges* into what *Judgement* they pleaſe; while the *Sentence* is reſolved on firſt, and the *Cauſe* heard after; they cutting them out ſuch *Halifax-law*, to *execute* before *enquiry*. Of *Multitudes*, let me pick out theſe three for Inſtance, very late and freſh in memory: The Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being reſolved on againſt Capt. *Burleigh*, the *Judge* was to be choſen. *Godbolt* was propoſed, but by Maſter *Liſle* rejected, with theſe words, *Let's not have him; in my Judgement we had beſt pitch upon Serjeant* Wild, *he will doe the Buſineſſe*. The Commit-

tee

tee of both Houses for *Oxford* concluded to expell Doctor *Fell* from his Deanery of *Christ-church*, and Vice-chancellourship, before ever they heard him speak, and assigned his Places to another. But after the Humour was over, and they conscious to themselves that the Character of Injustice was very visible upon that Action, the Order was reverst: but within a while after under the pretence of a formall *Processe* the same thing was done, the *same man* established in his room. Judge *Jenkins* is now condemned to die by an *Ordinance*, upon meer *hear-say*, and before one Witnesse was examined upon Oath against him, as far as it can be done by the *House of Commons*.

The Charge of Ecclesiasticall Courts, or concerning Oppression of our Soules.

But they have not done yet. They charge the King *with Lording it over their Soules*, no lesse then their Bodies, *leading them captive into Superstition and Idolatry, triumphing over them by Oaths, ex Officio, Excommunications, Ceremonies, Articles, new Oaths, Canonicall Oaths, &c.*

That answered.

To these we answer, 1. That they were done by *the Bishops* and *their Courts*; and *why* do they *hunky* the *Counsellours*, the *principall Actors* hereof, and blame *His Majesty*, being for most part but passive, for believing men (who at least pretended to Sanctity and knowledge) in their owne waies and *Government*?

2. That most of those supposed Crimes and Objections were professed ever since the *Reformation*, and established by the Laws of the Land. Even in Q. *Elizabeths* time you may read, the Oath *ex Officio* was urged, Ecclesiasticall *Confessions made, Subscription urged, Articles* & *Visitations* given, &c.

3. Those *Innovations* which were begun, were not so many as were exclaimed on; and some of them *Renovations* rather then *Innovations*; some unjustly censur'd, as tending to innocent and due decency in the outward worship of God; proving offensive not so much for their own sakes, as for the men that used them

and

and pressed them in moderately, men also otherwise disaffected by many; Nay were they ever practised but by some particulars, and in some places; nor were they in *Doctrine*, or in the *substance of Religion*, but in the forme and *Circumstance* of Worship; Besides that all of them have been long since forborne and buried, therefore maliciously raised up thus againe, to throw them in *His Majesties* face.

4. The Power and Jurisdiction of those Courts was extinguished by *Act of Parliament*, with His Majesties consent; though it had been much better for us to have suffered under them, then under the *Remedy*.

5. We never had assurance, that the *Government intended* should not have been more oppressive and burdensome. Nay, we had great reason to expect, *our Rods should have been turned into Scorpions*; and our redresse, but as the Proverb holds forth, *Out of the Frying-pan into the Fire*. Their *Penalties* were as high; the *Temper* of the Men entrusted with their execution, as keen. Coh *Leigh* openly professed at a Consistorie even against those, that had been Pillars of their Cause, and Champions for it in the field, *It was unfit any of them should live in the Kingdome*. Mr. *Edwards* in his *Gangraena* as rare. *Their power of Excommunication* is as large, but allayed indeed with a liberty of *Appeale* from one *Court* to another, at last of all to the *Parliament*, which is a *Mare magnum*, that swallowes up all Causes, never making a returne of any; or as lastly a *Labyrinth*, from whence there is no redemption, but by a *Golden thread*, and is *Compendium* of all grievance.

That Retorted.

But let us grant them their Plea; How much better had it been for us to have endured that *yoake*, and been *Lorded* over in that manner, then by these men, as now we are? How many Millions have they brought unto the Brinke of Hell by their Oathes and Vowes? Doe not they themselves give us *Oathes* at their Committees against our selves, and our dearest friends? Have they not instead of *Superstition* in the *forme of worship*, brought us into a *Prophanation*, since we abhorred of the *worship it self*? How many prodigious *doctrines*, *heresies*, *blasphemies* have they suffered

to be broached, abetted, and protected? How many whole *Parishes* have they in a manner excommunicated? by taking away *Orthodox Ministers* (and such as there was no other exception against, but that they were of signall piety and learning, and refused to act against their *conscience*) by that meanes not onely debarring them from the *Sacrament*, but all other *ordinances*, and exposing them as a prey to *Sectaries* and *Hereticks*. This *Theame* is infinite, if I should enlarge upon it: But because themselves are so short, I passe it over in the same manner.

A Collection of all their Objections against His Majesty, since the Rupture.

The Objections against His Majesty, since his absence from Parliament, are reducible to these few heads:

First, *Of Commencing war against them, which never King did, but King Charles.*

Secondly, *Of Refusing Petitions for Peace, and all Overtures, which might tend to make up the Breach.*

The former they labour to confirme:

First, *By the Preparations he made before-hand.*

Secondly, *By the Intelligence they received from abroad*; in particular,

1. *Raising of Regiments under pretence of the service of* Portugal.

2. *Ammunition and Guards taken into* White-Hall, *and the* Tower.

3. *The Lord* Digby's *appearance at* Kingston *upon* Thames, *in a Warlike posture.*

4. *His Letters to the Queen, advising His Majesty to retire to a Place of Strength.*

5. Cockrin's *Instructions to deale with the King of* Denmarke *for Forces, which the King called a* Vile Scandall; *but yet they were afterwards taken in his Cabinet.*

6. *Commissions to the Earl of* Newcastle, *and Col.* Legg, *to seize on* Newcastle *and* Hull.

7. *Bringing of Ordnance in ballast of Ships.*

8. *The Queens going to* Holland, *and by pawning the Crown-Jewels, procuring Ammunition and Money.*

9. *Raising*

9. *Raising Guards, and this, when he protested not to thinke of War against his Parliament, getting Subscriptions, Proclaiming them Traitors, setting up his Standard.*

The latter they prove:

1. *By his refusing particular Petitions for Peace.*

2. *His never condescending to any Proposition, they made; though so reasonable, that they might seem to have resigned up their Judgements, no lesse then their Desires, for an Accommodation; and had made seven severall Applications to him, for that purpose; though they never had any Proposall from him, reasonable for them to accept; which they aggravate* in that he would not *heare the Cry of Thousands of Families ruin'd, which Cruelty it self would pity.*

3. *By his making advantage of their Treaties; As when he appointed* Windsor, *and they were in preparation to a Treaty, he advancing surprized* Brainceford; *where his men having committed horrible cruelties, were forced to retire; And when under colour of renewing a Treaty, he sent a Commission to destroy them.*

4. *That even since He hath been in their power, He would not harken to Propositions sent unto him at* Hampton-Court, *nor signe so much as four* Bills, *which were only in order to their Security during a Treaty, since he was in the* Isle of Wight, *though those made way to a Personall Treaty upon the rest.* To all which I shall answer.

The Generall Answer.

That the *King* did not begin the War, may first be concluded from the *improbability* thereof:

1. Themselves assoile the *King* from that *fiercenesse of disposition* and *inclination to War*, when they make that Comment upon the Lord *Digby's* Letter, who writing to the *Queen*, among other Passages, hath this for one, *I have taken the hardinesse to write unto His Majesty, according as his Affairs and Complexion requires*; which they interpret to be a *Mildnesse of Spirit.*

2. There was a very vast *disproportion* between his *strength* and theirs: for 1. The *Affections of the people*, and the *Wealth* of the *Kingdome* were all at their devotion; the *King* being looked on but a-squint (though causlesly) by his Subjects. 2. The *Ammunition* and *Armes* of the Kingdome in their power. 3. The *Navy* at

their dispose. *What King* (said our Saviour) *going to war against another, sits not downe first, and considers whether he be able with his ten thousand to meet him that commeth against him with his twenty thousand?* It could not have stood on this side *madnesse*, for our *King* to harbour such a Resolution, to meet them, or set on them rather, that had I will not say 20000. but 200000. against his One.

Secondly, granting their proofs all true, by what *Logick* doth it follow, that all this was done by the *King*, with an intention to leavy war against the *Parliament*? A *Preparation* may be for *Defence* as well as for *Assault*. We have not forgotten, that it was one of their *own Arguments*, whereby they pressed for putting the Kingdom into a Posture of the *Militia* under their command, because *they heard of great preparations in Spaine, France, Denmarke*, and God knows where. At this time they themselves doe fortifie *Newcastle*, have forced thereinto a Garrison of 3000 men, into *Tinmouth-Castle* 600. &c. But would they be well pleased with that inference, *Therefore they intend to make war against the Scots?* If a Ship at Sea discover a Man-of-War, it is no Defiance to clear her Guns, open her Port-holes, let down her Wast-cloaths, &c. In *Spaine*, if one man draw his Sword, all the Company draw theirs also presently, whatsoever the Occasion be. I have heard of a Gentleman who never sees another take up a Sword in his hand, to look on, to shew, to buy, but streight he draws his owne; and gives this reason, *Doe I know what the Devill may tempt him to?* When His Majesty perceived such *unusuall* and *unseemly Expressions, High and insolent Demands*, No satisfaction he could give *accepted*, *Words* uttered in his face, that *he was* not *worthy to* Reigne, and those by *Apprentices*, and by the *scum* of the people, The power of the *Parliament to Depose Kings*, His indeserts for that high Place, liberally in all Companies made the discourse of their *Confidents*, yea of their own *Members*, The *Militia* not only *demanded*, but *wrung* out of his hands, His own *Ammunition* seized on, *Towns fortified* against him, The *Navy disposed* of contrary to his desires, Was it not then high time for him to look about him, to project his own Safety, to prepare against the Storm thus hanging over his head? which if he had failed to do, he must have cast himself *down at their feet*; and so had

he

he made good what at the beginning of these Troubles (for want of other Accusation) they spar'd not to bespatter him withall, *That he was but a degree from an Idiot.*

As for the *Proofs in particular*, they are so frivolous, and yet have had such frequent effectuall Answers in His *Majesties Declarations* (which are to be seen in print, published by *Husbands* their owne Printer, and are so very well known among us) that I will spare both my self and the Reader the paines to insert them in this place.

This Charge made good upon themselves.

But to lay the Childe at the right fathers doore, The truth is, though this War were the *Hand of God* upon us all for our Crying sins, and the first Rise of it were almost as unsearchable as the Head of the *Nile*, yet are there some Tracks, that infallibly fasten it upon the *Houses*. If you will allow the *first defiance* to begin the War, it was the *Parliaments Remonstrance* (*piget meminisse*) sent unto the *King* at *Hampton-Court*, which some of the wisest contested against, and among others upon this Ground for one, *That it must be presented upon the point of a sword.* If you make it to relate unto the *first Guard*, The *Parliament* raised that, when the *King* was in *Scotland*. If to the *first violence*, it came from the Tumults at *Westminster* for justice on the Earle of *Strafford*, and for expulsion of the *Bishops*, acted by the *Citizens*, but incited and incouraged by *Members* of their owne *House*; Besides the Conducting of the *five Members* by a just *Army* to the *House* by land, and besieging as well as shooting at *White-Hall* by water. If the *first manning of the Garrisons*, it was by the *Parliament* at *Hull*; If the *first Army*, it was begun by the *Parliament* under the Earle of *Essex*, who had an Army of 15000 and upward, when the *King* had not one thousand. If the *first Blow* between them, did not their Army at *Edge-hill* first give fire to the Cannon? Indeed, we must acknowledge, the *King* trod in their steps, sometimes foote-hot, and most an end wrought by the Pattern, they had cut out for him.

The same thing may further be cleared by the *Confidence* and *Assurance* of their *friends*, that there could be no war; that it

was enough for the *Parliament* to raiſe an Army, the *King* would never be able to do it, or at leaſt ſo as to ballance theirs; and then he muſt lie at their Mercy. Thus ran their diſcourſe among themſelves, this was the Preſumption of their *Junto* then. Nay ſuch aſſurance had they hereof, that Mr. *Hamden* himſelf (as quick-ſighted as the beſt behind him) offered to lay an hundred pound to a ſhilling thereon. Let Mr. *Lilburn* ſpeak, if ſtill you are to be convinc'd, an *Agitator* at that time, and one who knew the ſecrets of their Cabinet, *They have engaged the Kingdome in a bloody War, under pretence of Vindicating the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, but never intended (God knows) any ſuch thing, but meerly by the Blood and Treaſure of the people, to make themſelves Lords and Maſters over them*, Oppreſſed mans Oppreſ. *p.* 34.

The Kings refuſing Petitions for Peace, Anſwered.

Now to clear His *Majeſty* from the Charge of refuſing Petitions for Peace, or Overtures to that purpoſe,

1. It can hardly obtaine credence with a prudent man, that the *King* ſhould turne the deaf eare toward a *juſt Peace*, becauſe it was for his own Intereſt. Both ſides fought upon his ſcore; thoſe that died in the quarrell againſt him, were his Subjects. He was the poorer for the very Plunder and deſtruction, that fell upon his Enemies. He had three *Crownes* at ſtake. His eares and eyes were continually filled with the deſolations of his Country, & the ſpoile of the people. In his owne Perſon he was ſtript of all the uſuall Comforts of his life, and for moſt part hunted as a *Partridge upon the Mountaines*, and in continuall danger. Whereas our Maſters at *Weſtminſter* continually gain'd by that, which other men loſt by. How elſe were it poſſible, that they and ſo many of their *ſervants* and *Officers* ſhould ſtart up into ſuch *Eſtates*, from the very dunghill, or a loſt condition? They were at little hazard, ſome of them being of an Eſtate, twice or thrice ſold or morgag'd for more then the worth, others worth nothing. They *made ſport* with the Relations of Burnings and Maſſacres, and heard them as ſome *Romance*, when themſelves ſate voting ſecurely at *Weſtminſter*, ſnorting upon their downe-beds, feeding upon the delicacies of the Kingdome, dividing the ſpoiles of it among them-

themſelves, even at leaſt 300000. l. profeſſedly, (to ſay nothing now of Clandeſtine wayes, cleanly Cheates, Offices, &c.) Beſides, they were well acquainted with that Maxime of *Alexander of Parma, That when Subjects draw their ſwords againſt their Prince, they muſt fling away the ſcabbard.*

2. If you reviſe the pretended *Petitions*, you will find they were (for the moſt part) as great *Reproaches*, as ever otherwiſe were caſt upon the *King*, ſuch as muſt needs beget a *Prejudice*, and carry their *Anſwer* in their very *Fore-heads*.

3. They were not *Petitions for Peace*, but rather *Admonitions* to the King to ſubmit, to deveſt himſelf of his ſtrength and power to protect his people, for to ſacrifice his friends, to caſt himſelfe upon their Mercy. Who could blame either them for making ſuch Petitions, or the *King* for denying them?

4. If you know the *Ends* and *Deſignes* they drove therein, ſo well as we who ſate neere the Chaire, and ſometimes convers'd with the Councell, you would reſt fully ſatisfied, that they were rather to get wind of the *King*, to appeaſe the people, and winne their *Affections* by a ſeeming diſſembled *Affection* and purſuit of what they ſo much gaſped after; when *God* knowes, they never harbour'd the leaſt expectation or deſire of Condeſcenſion from the *King*; and that they made no bones to confeſſe among their *Confidents*.

5. It is a *falſe* and *impudent averment*, to pretend that any Petitions (though of this nature) upon ſuch grounds, were rejected by the *King*; or indeed had not a faire anſwer given, and ſuch a one as in our judgement might have ſatisfied reaſonable men.

His Majeſties not admitting Propoſitions Anſwered, and retorted.

Now to clear His *Majeſty* from that Aſperſion of not *admitting Propoſitions*, or making any fit for them to receive. 1. We deſire the Reader to take notice of the ſeverall offers the *King hath made*. 1. Before the Warre was throughly kindled. *Jan.* 23. 1641. Booke of Declarations, wherein he did upon the matter ſend them a Blanke. 2. Before much blood was drawn, His Meſſages from *Nottingham* which you may ſee in the ſame Booke. 3. His

Propoſitions

Propositions at severall Treaties, at *Colebroke*, *Oxford*, *Uxbridge*, (which last was ingenuously and without a false Glosse exposed to the world, yet never to this day had any answer) In most of which never *King* made appearance of more gracious Condescension to a disadvantagious Composure, had it been possible. Whereas they never yet made any, but such as expected from him, 1. To sacrifice his *Honour*. 2. To violate his *Conscience*, 3. To give his fastest *friends* for a victime unto the fury of their Enemies.

2. It is too evident a truth, that whatsoever they pretended of an Inclination to a Composure or making up the Breach, it was but to *baffle* and gull the *people*. *Ad populum phaleras*. They were resolved to hold the sword naked, and to throw away the scabbard. How otherwise could they have proved such *deafe Adders*, to the many gracious Messages from His *Majesty* (besides the Propositions mentioned before?) How could they cast behind their backs so many sweet courting Letters, dispatch'd one upon another? What Colour can they pretend, for their waving of the *French*, and *Hollanders* interposure, when they made friendly offers of *Mediation*? *Nations*, the one to whom formerly the *King* of this Land with his disobedient *Barons*, made reference of their differences: the other, of our owne Profession, maintaining that *Discipline* of the *Church*, which these men doat upon, as their great *Diana*, and having lately screw'd themselves into the Independency of a Free state; both of them indifferent to our quarrell; and if any Biasse hung upon the latter, it must be toward the *Parliaments* party.

3. Besides it is not quite out of our Memory in this City, That when the generality of the better and wiser Citizens were assembled at *Guild-hall* in a peaceable way to draw up a Petition for Peace, there were twenty or thirty men with drawn swords (of which *Mainwaring's* son was one) sent in amongst them to assault and provoke them to a defence of themselves, and to reciprocall violence, so that they might have some pretence to charge them with *Mutiny* and *Rio* (as was done by a scandalous and lying paper, afterward put forth by their Authority;) and that by *killing* some (as one was served by *Harvies* owne hand) and *imprisoning others*, all such hopes or least Motions that way might be

be extinguished. Nor have we forgotten, how divers *Buckinghamshire* people being assembled to like purpose, about the time of *Uxbridge* Treaty, were dispersed by their Horse, and some made Prisoners. We passe by many, but these are enough to demonstrate, who were the most resolved against any peaceable Conclusion.

4. The Circumstances of their Propositions clearly prove, that they were in a great *fear* lest the *King* should condescend (though they were never so unreasonable) What else should be the meaning of their limiting His *Majesty* to six, to ten, to twenty dayes; but for fear lest any further time and consideration should make him grant them? And what, of their requiring certaine numbers to be left to their mercy without any name, but by that means to amuse His *Majesty* and keep him in suspence, which of his friends should be mark'd out for slaughter? And since the Armies march through *London*, What of their leaving all such out of their Votes for Indempnity, as had any hand in that Message of the *King* of *May* 12. last, wherein he offered all that possibly could be offered, or in approbation of it? Observe, how they confesse (in their last Declaration for no more Addresses to the King) that their Propositions sent to *Newcastle* were the same in effect with those at *Uxbridge*, and those at *Hampton-Court* with those at *Newcastle*; And yet how much time was spent between their sending of them?

Brainceford busines Answered, and retorted.

Now whereas it is pretended, the *King* took advantage to assault their Quarters at *Brainceford*, while they were in Treaty, our Answer is,

1. That there was no provision made for the suspension of all Hostility, during that space.

2. That Propositions were but pretended to be framing (which have often taken up many moneths in *Parliament*) not sent unto the *King*.

3. That they did not accept of the *Kings* motion, to allow him his own House at *Windsor* for his use.

4. That even the day before, there were divers men drawne

out of *London* into *Kingston*, with Ordnance and Ammunition sent towards the *Kings quarters*; the *Earle of Essex*, and *Waller*, and the *Earle of Warwick*, were in earnest preparation to advance; the *Countries* round about were summon'd, and in preparation to march. Upon which let any reasonable man judge, whether it were fit, the *King* should be meerely passive and permit them either to surround and shut him in, or to creepe into such Advantages over him, that if he had over-slipt but that nick of time, he could not have redeemed himselfe and his Forces out of their hands.

And since that impertinent passage is foisted into their Declaration, that he was forced to retire *with shame and losse* after so *much Cruelty* committed in *Brainesford*, (agreeable to a false relation published at that time by their Command;) Let all the world know, divers of this *City* being witnesses of it the very next day after, That there was left in that *Towne*, after the *Royall Armies* retreat, both abundance of Bread, Drinke, and Wine, and also Provinder for Horse; nor was there any, but here and there a disaffected person, sustain'd any considerable losse, which thing border'd upon a Miracle, being very rarely practised by any Army especially so ill paid. To lie there 15000 of them together for a whole day and night, in an *Enemies Country*, a *Towne* which was *defended* against them and *taken by assault*, and followed in the reare by a potent Army, yet to commit no more outrage. I am sure, These men can produce no such instance on their own side. Now the *Parliaments* party, when they afterwards came into the *Towne* (I know the men, that saw these things) killed divers of the *Kings* Souldiers, who were left drunke in the streets, and taking that honest *Italian* revenge, to send their drunken *soules* to the *Devil* (as much as in them lay) together with their *Bodies* to the *Grave*. Also their Souldiers pull'd down divers houses to the ground, under pretence that their Owners were of the Conspiracy to bring the *Kings* Army to the *Towne*; plundered the houses and shops of others, nay of one who was in service in their owne Army, drag'd poor wounded men by cords tied about their necks, pricking them behind with pikes and swords, twitching some up at a Carts-taile by Roaps about their necks, then letting them down again, under pretence that they were *Irish*, and

to

to make them confeſſe, whereas they were poor *Welch*, and could not ſpeake our language. Moreover they forced Women into the *Thames*, there pricking them with their Pikes, and ſtriking them under water, to put them to many deaths at once, under the notion of *Iriſh* women; and all this Inhumanity without any check from their Commanders.

The Commiſſion under pretence of a Treaty, Anſwered.

For the Commiſſion to murder them under pretence of a renewing the Treaty (as they are pleaſed to ſtyle the *Commiſſion of Array.*)

1. It was onely to Arme ſome of the well-affected loyal *Citizens*, that they might vindicate their Liberty.

2. There was ſmall probability, that much Blood (if any at all) ſhould have been ſpilt, had the deſigne taken place.

3. It was no more then themſelves have done, and ſped better in, as at *Shrewsbury, Hereford, Eccleſhal Caſtle*, &c. *Proſperum & felix ſcelus —— Virtus vocatur.*

4. Stratagems were never leſſe lawfull then open force, againſt an Enemy.

The Propoſitions at Hampton-Court, *Anſwered.*

As for the *Propoſitions* they ſent unto the *King* at *Hampton-Court*:

1. They were the ſame as formerly; and though here and there a *Word* was mollified, yet in ſubſtance they were more unreaſonably rigid then the former.

2. They were huddl'd up here, the *Scots* being not warned of them, but the very night afore, yet appointed to be preſent at the *delivery.*

3. They were never intended by themſelves for the *Kings* condeſcention, onely ſent in a *formality*, and out of a meer purpoſe to encreaſe the number of their Addreſſes. Which was the more apparant, in regard Maſter *Peters* with divers of the *Army* came to quicken the *Parliament*, by this falſe aſſeveration, that they were very ſure, the *King* would grant them, whatſoever they

were. The *Solicitor* preſſed in the *Houſe of Commons* for a Compliance in one Propoſall, giving this for a reaſon, *That they might gaine the greater Advantage upon the Kings refuſall, as he was aſſured that he would refuſe*; but in caſe the *King* ſhould yeild, he had a way to fruſtrate the Advantage, which the *Malignants* might expect.

4. That the *King* might be encouraged to wave them, The *Army* had preſented him with *Propoſals*, which were much lower, and might better be digeſted by him; ſome ſay (and thoſe of their *own Houſe* too) on purpoſe to *indiſpoſe* him toward the *Parliaments Propoſitions*, and ſo render him the more obnoxious, to what they projected againſt him.

The 4 Bills preſented at the Iſle of Wight, *Anſwered.*

As to the 4 *Bills* ſent to the *Iſle of Wight*. 1. They were proteſted againſt by the *Commiſſioners of Scotland*: and who would not look upon it as a ſtrong *dilemma*, either to diſ-oblige and irritate that *Nation* with the *Preſbyterian* cutrant here by his Aſſent, or the *Army's* Faction and *Independents* by his Aſſent? who would not judge it better to take in the *Intereſt* of both Parties, and ſo cut off the danger of further embroyling the Kingdome, which *His Majeſty* moſt wiſely and Chriſtianly for the prevention of further Bloud-ſhed, offered.

2. Thoſe 4 *Bills* were *Voted* by many *againſt their Conſcience*, who did ingenuouſly profeſſe as much, and that they wiſhed, they might not be yeilded to; giving this reaſon, why they had ſo paſſed them, contrary to their Minds, *If they ſhould have given their Vote againſt them, they muſt incur the Imputation of being Enemies to Peace; If for them, a Tyranny would be eſtabliſhed in the Army and Independent Party over the Kingdome.*

3. The *matter* of them was utterly to *enſlave* us all, and put us under the *Arbitrary power* of a *Faction* for ever: for by them a Power ſhould have been granted the *Parliament* (which I pray, what is it now in effect, but the *Army*, and that *Faction*?) of Preſſing any men without limitation, and of raiſing what Sums they pleaſed, from whom they pleaſed, toward the Charge, and alſo of diſpoſing this ſtrength, according to their will.

4. The

4. The *King* had not onely destroyed the *Liberty* and *Property* of all his Subjects hereby, but put *Himself* also under a Power to *compell him* not onely to grant the rest of their *Propositions* in a *Personall Treaty*, but what else soever their boundlesse ambition might have tempted them to demand, without any provision for His owne *Honour*, or His owne and his *peoples safety*. For every man can tell himself this plain truth, That *who so weares the Sword by right Investiture, needs no other Law or Logick*, and (as the Wiseman answered *Crœsus*) He *that brings the better Steel, will quickly be Master of the Gold and Silver*.

5. The *Treaty* was not promised to be Personall, but by Commissioners, and that at the *Isle of Wight*; who should have been coopt up within such Rules and Instructions, that they should not dare transgresse in a word or tittle, without recourse to their Masters at *Westminster*: and His Majesty treated withall as in a *Prison*, which must have invalidated the Conclusions between them, and given his *Posterity* an advantage which the *King himself* was not willing to, that he might establish the *peace* of the Kingdome upon the surer Basis and foundation.

6. The *Persons*, most likely to have been designed for this Imployment, were engaged perhaps to *represent the worst sense of the Transactions*, to make it their chief work to incense the *Parliament*, and to infuse into them a *new Quarrell* against the *King*; as those did, who (being to account for the *Passages* at the *delivery* of the *Propositions* at *Hampton-Court*, the *King* having importuned them to intercede for a *Personall Treaty*, and in his earnestnesse letting fall this Expression, *If I may obtain that with my Parliament, all the Devils in Hell shall not hinder a good Agreement*) did thus misreport his words, *If I cannot obtain a Personall Treaty with my Parliament, all the Devils in Hell shall not defeat me of my Resolutions*. I forbear to tell, how the Passages were clipt, and the worst part only related in the *House* of *Commons*, by the *major* part of those, to whom that charge was given from the *Isle of Wight*.

The Charge in reference to the Scots.

Their Charge against the *King* in reference to the *Scots*, is the first of those that relate to foraine Estates, and this is it:

1. That there was *a new book of Common-Prayer and Canons imposed on them.*

2. *An Army was raised to force them to receive these Innovations.*

3. *The Articles of Pacification were broken, and burnt by the hand of the Hang-man.*

4. *A new War was leavied, &c.*

The Answer to that.

Our Answer is, 1. This was ever before the Impeachment of *Strafford* and *Canterbury*, and others; esteemed the Action of *Evill Counsellours* about *His Majesty*.

2. If it were a *crime*, those men have expiated it by their *death*, it being a great part of that *burden* that sunk them even to the *Black*.

3. The *Scots* themselves are satisfied; and why we in *England* should be so officious, as to take up their Quarrell, when they sit down themselves, I know not.

4. These Passages are buried by an *Act* of *Oblivion*; which although these men *break* thus for their own *ends*, we shall better observe. And though the *King* might be acquitted from what they tax him with herein, yet we had rather suffer those *sparks* to die of themselves, then kindle the *fire* a-new, or blow about the *ashes*.

The Charge *concerning* Ireland.

In their Charge concerning *Ireland*, we find they are Industrious, omitting nothing that can be imagined, whereby to fasten on *His Majesty* an *Allowance* at least, if not a positive *command* of the *Rebellion* there: and because they set so much of their Rest upon that, you shall have most of it, and in their own words:

It

It is well known, 1. *what Letters the King sent into* Ireland, *by the Lord* Dillon, *immediately before the Rebellion.*

2. *Where the Great Seal of* Scotland *was, and in whose hands, when that Commission was sealed at* Edenburgh *to the Irish Rebels, who dispersed Copies thereof with Letters and Proclamations; And we have a Copy thereof, attested by Oath, with Depositions of those who have seen it under the Seal.*

3. *Which was promised (by the confession of some of the chiefest of the Rebels,) to the Irish Committee at* London, *being most part Papists, (which was thought a good Omen) and since most active Rebels.*

4. *Upon whose private mediation the King gave away more then 5 Counties, saying, he expelled, they should recompense him.*

This answered.

To wipe off this Calumny, 1. It is clear by their own Testimonies, and by the confession of divers among the *Rebels*, That this Rebellion hath been upon the Anvill these many years; some of their *Priests* acknowledging, themselves had travelled therein above seven years; others six, &c. which you may learn from Sir *Jo. Temple*, in his *discourse of the Irish Rebellion*, *p.* 67. (which Book I shall often and the more cheerfully urge, because he was a *Privy-Counsellour* in *Ireland*, present there at the time of the Insurrection, and long after; a person dis-obliged by the *King*, a *Parliament-man* here, and one that hath given up his name to their Faction, that no most at randome.) Now how can this be admitted by any prudent man, that the *King* should be so infatuated, as to conjure up such *Devils* to disturbe his *Kingdoms*, when it was in peace; to destroy his *Subjects*, who had no thought of *Dis-loyalty* toward him (of whom those that are yet left, for the greatest part, continue firm still) to ruinate the *wealth* of that people, which afforded him a considerable *Revenue*, (which also was to be improved.

2. The same Author is confident, that though their Intentions in *Ireland* might be *to set up the Popish Government, yet their prime Aime in this Rebellion was to shake off the* English yoake, *to settle the*

the power wholly in the hands of the Natives; the other they made use of, only to draw in poor ignorant people to sacrifice their lives for them, p. 83. & 66. And he gives one reason for their Encouragement hereunto, That *the Scots had by their Armes and wise management, drawn His Majesty to condescend unto their entire satisfaction, both in Discipline of the Church, and the Liberties of the Kingdome.* And these things are attested on Oath by divers; As in the Examination of one *Cooke*, who deposed, that *Tirlogh Brady* should say, *All the Irish were risen against the King and the Counsell, That the Irish would within a fortnight have a King of their own*, the Examination of *Alice Tibbs*, p. 50. The same deposed by *Avis Bradshaw*; that they had *a new King* by *R. Barter*. p. 51. Of the like nature were many other Examinations taken, *That they had the Scots for a president*, They *would have the Kingdome in their own hands, Lawes of their own, Deputy of their own, without molestation from another Nation*; this was sworn by *J. Bigar*, that he heard one *Enstace* a Commander profesſe, p. 19. with many other of like importment, in a Book called *a Remonstrance of Passages in Ireland*, presented *to the Commons of* England, *and recommended by the Justices and Councell of that Kingdome.* Now they that can think, the *King* should concur in a design to devest himself of one of his own *Crowns*, doe certainly under the same thought suppose him void of Common Reason, without the use of his right Wits.

3. There was never any *Officer* or man of quality, not the Lord *Mac-guire* himself, who was in the contrivement of the Rebellion, that did ever in good earnest, when he was in the power of the *English*, and under sentence of Condemnation, nay at the point of death (which is no time to dissemble) that ever did affirme the *King* any way privy thereunto. Though *Mac-guire* was much importuned, fairly promised, threatned, nay turned off the Cart, and recovered again (a fact too barbarous toward a very Rebell) *did acquit the King upon his death* (to use his owne words) and *any other man in* England, *except one, and he but a private Gentleman* (who came *by chance, as he said, to the knowledge* thereof) *from being guilty so much as of knowing it.*

4. In all *His Majesties* Declarations, Messages, Letters, Speeches to the *Parliament*, he doth not onely speak with much abhorrence

horrour and detestation of them, but conjure and excite the *Parliament*, to relieve his *Protestant* Subjects there, and to revenge the Bloud that was shed, offering his own *Person*, and all other Concurrences therein.

5. It may be added, that most of the *Soldiery*, imployed in that Action, most of the *Ministry*, expulsed by the Natives, most of the *English Gentry* who had their abode in that place (even Sir *Hardres Waller* was so, before he came over; and that so high, that he told the *Lord of Ormond*, though Sir *W. Waller* were his Kinsman, he had learnt to spew such out, as forgot their Allegiance to His Majesty; and since that, untill he saw this Side thrive best, and last of all the *Independents*, to whom for their successe sake he hath glew'd himself) are but cold friends of the *Parliaments*, and adhered to the *King*, at least in their *Opinions*; which they could not possibly have done, if they had ground to suspect, their Miseries to have been derived from him; especially considering their Necessities, and the hopes they might have from the *Parliament* of Subsistence, if not of Preferment also.

Particular Answers to the particular Proofs.

Although by what hath been spoken, *His Majesties* Innocence be as clear as the noon-day, yet we will be at the pains to follow these men through every step of their Track.

1. *Of the Scale of* Scotland *to the Rebels Commissioners.*

1. It was a wonder, the *Scots* could be ignorant of it, by whom the *King* was sufficiently watched; and onely we *English* at the distance of 300 miles, and nothing interested therein, should have such Intelligence.

2. It is easily averred; but untill we meet with better proof then their bare word, we have but a poore deale of reason to believe them.

3. *Mac-guire* upon his Death professed he never saw any, who had as much reason to see it as any man, having been a prime *Agent* in the very contrivement of that Rebellion.

4. If a *Commission* under the Seale was shewed and boasted of, it might eafily be done. What Difficulty was there for them to make one, and afterward fet it to what they pleafed? (we know, who did as much, and iffued out Commiffions againft the King in his Name) What great labour was it to faften an old label to a new Parchment; faire enough to deceive thofe, who were willing to be deceived? Nay, how weak had they been, if they had not done fo, and done what elfe was poffible to colour their owne fide, to amaze the *Engliſh*, and caft Bones between us?

5. It is of no more truth, becaufe affirmed by Sir *Phileon Oneale*, or by others of the Rebels. The fame Perfons did withall (if theſe Declarers had been pleafed to quote the whole evidence) affirme, *That they were ſure of the Scots to be of their ſide.* Remonſt. p. 37. That *they had the E. of* Argyle's *hand and ſeale of the Nobility of* Scotland, ibid. *That the King himſelf was in perſon among them.* Theſe, and many other of the ſame brau, Sir *J. Temple* tells us ingenuouſly, were the devices to delude others and to diſtract us. The *Copy* of it and the Oaths may be called in queſtion, when there are no Particulars named; but if true, they may be ſuborn'd on purpoſe, or be of that falſe Commiſſion, which was given them by their owne King *Tyrone*, for fo ſome of the Examinations doe teſtifie, *They cared not for King* Charles, *and had a King of their own*, p. 54. of the Remonſtrance.

2. *His giving 5 Counties, and other Acts of Grace, Anſwered.*

For thoſe Acts of Grace, imply'd in the Letter by the L. *Dillon*, & giving up 5 Counties upon the private mediation of the Commiſſioners:

1. It argues their ingratitude, not the *Kings* concurrence; in that they would, after ſo much favour, ſo far diſhonour him, and ſeek his miſchief.

2. They were granted at ſuch a Conjuncture of time, that the *King* had been taught more leſſons then one, againſt irritating of a *Kingdome*, or exaſperating of Waſpes; and was concerned to give them ſatisfaction, rather then let them carve for themſelves, according to the Examples they had before their Eyes.

3. Theſe

3. These were granted by him, not by private mediation of the Commissioners, but by the Importunity of both *Houses of Parliament*, (see Sir Jo. Temple, p. 13.) by whom they were *sent*, and under the notion of *Redresse of Grievances*; in which it is worth your notice, (what our Author testifies) *That many of the Protestants in Parliament were made instrumentall to them, under pretence of Ease and Redresse of Grievances.*

4. Those *Acts were thought necessary by the Lords of the Council*; and further Grace, and it is called by our Author, *An bending themselves into a happy and just complyance with the seasonable desires of the people, and mollifying the sharp Humours, raised by the rigid Passages of former times.*

3. *His not Disbanding the* Irish Army, *Answered.*

That the *Irish Army* was no sooner Disbanded, was 1. upon point of *Honour* and *Safety* to this Kingdome, whilst the *Scots* kept theirs on foot, it was for neither to disband, 2. for that Kingdome. Had these men been sent into *Spaine* (as was intended by the *King*, and in good earnest sollicited by that *Embassadour*, but opposed by the *Parliament*) that place had been disburdened of so many Pests. How doth it reflect upon the *King*, if the Natives had another designe besides his? I am sure the same Author confessed, that the Natives were very unwilling that they should be sent into *Spaine*, as much as the Parliament here.

4. *Their Pretences for the King, Oaths, &c. Answered.*

That they pretended to vindicate the *King*, took an Oath of Allegiance to the *King*, stiled themselves *the Queens Army*, or in their Letters of Mart gave in charge to spare the *Kings* Ships,

1. It is of no moment, but to shew their cunning and care to maintain divisions among us under that Colour. It is not long, since we had such Protestations taken and enforced; *Our Armies at the beginning pretended to fight for King & Parliament, &c.* And we have read of an old Stratagem of *Hannibal*, to plunder and ravage all other mens Lands and Estates, except those of *Fa-*

him, whom he moſt hated, that he might by that meanes nurſe up a Jealouſie in the people againſt him.

5. *The ſuſpence of the Proclamations, Anſwered.*

That it was long ere the Proclamations were iſſued, and but 40 neither againſt them:

1. Twas the advice of His *Councell* there, who knew the ſtate of that *Kingdome*, better then our *Parliament*; and who hoped (as Sir *Jo. Temple* intimates) that they might have been reclaimed by gentle means, whilſt rough and hard uſage might have made them deſperately perſiſt in, and grow to a greater head of violence.

2. Beſides that, They thought it wiſdome to doe more themſelves, by giving *Armes even to the Papiſts of the pale*, by *diſſembling their knowledge that they had been of the Conſpiracy* from the beginning, by *forbearing Acts of Hoſtility*, even *againſt profeſſed Rebels in their Country*, by kind Invitations of them, when they had actually imbrued their hands in the Maſſacre.

6. *The Earle of* Leiceſter's *Delay, Anſwered.*

1. The Delay of the *E. of Leiceſter* was not *His Majeſties* fault, but the *Parliaments*, for when *His Majeſty* had given him Commiſſion and Inſtructions, which the *Houſes* called for, examined, and could not quarrell at, yet was his *Lordſhip* kept here ſix weeks after, without any diſpatch or ſupply anſwerable to that imployment. Afterwards, going from hence to *Cheſter*, upon promiſe that neceſſary ſupply ſhould be ſpeeded after him, he ſtaid there five or ſix weeks without any. In which time this unhappy war brake out, and occaſioned the *King* to ſend for him for ſome time.

2. It would have been diſadvantagious to the Conqueſt, while his ſingle Perſon not attended with a power anſwerable would have rendered the Condition of this Kingdome deſpicable, and have encouraged the *Rebels* to more impetuous Reſiſtence; whereas being in ſuſpence and expectation of a greater ſupply againſt

against them, then he could have brought, they went on with more Caution, and a slower pace.

3. At least it could be no more dammage to the service, then it was to supersede his son the *Lord Liste*, from execution of his Commission and voyage thither, untill the time of it was neer expir'd, as themselves did.

7. *Divers Officers going over by the Kings Passe, Answered.*

That divers Officers and Papists of quality went over into *Ireland*, by help of the *Kings* owne hand-writing, who there proved active Rebels. 1. Hath been often answered by the *King*. 2. Might be done to a good purpose; many of them being publike Persons, and making great protestations of *Legalty*, might have done good service in moderating the rest. The *Lords* of the Councell gave to *Papists not onely Commissions, but Armes* (as you may read in Sir *John Temple*,) *that so they might engage them*. 3. Might be done by misprision, or be counterfeited. I have been credibly informed, that more then 40 *Priests* and desperate Rebels went over in one Regiment of their own sending from *Chester*, and I am deceived, if some Booke printed by Licence from themselves doe not declare as much. Nay we know at this very present, that *Colonell J. Barry* (besides others) a notable Adjutant and *Papist* is lately allowed by a Passe from their *Generall* to goe over into *Ireland*. These times have tanght us, that any Hand or Passe may be so handsomely dissembled, that it will prove a hard taske to discover the Cheat.

8. *The Kings refusing to give Commissions to the Lord* Wharton *and* Brookes, *Answered.*

That the *King* refused to give Commissions to the *Lord Wharton* and *Brookes*, as also that he intercepted Cloathes and Ammunition sent thitherward, may have good satisfaction.

As 1. The War was on foot here, Those two *Lords* were his avowed Enemies, and of the *Junto* against him. There were divers Regiments raised under that pretence, which were intended & imployed

ployed against him. He had been really as weake, as once they would have made us believe he was, if he had cut his own throat with his own hands, enabled his Enemies to ruine him, under what pretence soever.

2. It was neatly contrived to assigne Cloaths and Ammunition for *Ireland*, if they were surpriz'd; but to imploy them against him, if they could arive in safety to their strengths.

Lastly, there was order given to release them by His Majesty.

9. *Letters to* Muskery, *Answered.*

1. The Letters from Court to *Muskery* were from *Tuam*, and they might be without Commission.

2. If they were allowed, was it not good Policy to coure them into divisions, or rather back againe into their Duties? The *Earle of Ormond* (a thing notoriously knowne) by that meanes blew Coales between the Rebels, when they had encircled and distressed *Dublin*; whereas he prevailed more by putting on the Fox's skin, then he could have done by that of the Lyon, and preserved the *English* interest in all that Province, which of necessity must otherwise have been lost.

10. *The With-drawing of the Ships, Answered.*

The *King* did indeed with-draw some Ships from those Coasts; but 1. It was for his owne necessary defence against them, when they had seiz'd upon the rest of his Navy. 2. The Posts assign'd to the Ships, were not so obnoxious for importation from *Spaine* and other forraine places. 3. It was not so great an advantage to the *Rebels*, as their with-drawing, contrary to Articles, the Ships appointed to prevent the landing of *Irish* in *Scotland*, which they make a shift to answer their Brethren. 4. Besides we see they can receive Ammunition, and other supplies even now too.

11. *The Commission to* Glamorgan, *Answered.*

The greatest Objection of a Commission to the *Earle of Glamorgan*

morgan and *Antrim* to raise Armies for the service of the *King*. To which we Answer.

1. That it is not well cleared, the *King* did give any such Commission.

2. That if he did, it was but the imploying of his owne Subjects in his service, to which they were obliged by their Allegiance, and he was bound by the very law of Nature to make use of.

3. It was upon a desperate pinch that he was put unto by the *two Houses*. Men will catch at the very Nailes of a Planke to save themselves from being ingulph'd in the Waves; hold even by Thornes to keepe above water. He were a weake man sure, that would make conscience of quenching a great fire in his Roofe, by the hands of Thieves or Murderers.

4. We have often heard, and many too of these great Accusers professe as much, that they would cast *themselves upon any Nation* (I have heard, *Colonell Morley* and others should say, upon the *Turke*) *rather then let the King subdue them*; And yet their Case was different.

The whole Charge retorted.

Let's now see, whether all this may not be retorted upon the *House of Commons*, and their Confidents. Whosoever will seriously consider, 1. The *quarrell* which the *Irish* made, namely their *Liberty* and *Religion*, and *Redresse of Grievances*, the very same which our *Parliament* pretended, 2. The *Time* when, when the *Scots* were hardly setled upon their lees againe, and the *Parliament of England* high flowne already, and advanced in their Contestation, 3. Their *Preparatives* to Rebellion, by invading *new Priviledges*, as to determine in Cases Capitall and Criminal, Charging of Publike Officers, banding against Greivances, &c. and an Itch also to have procured a longer (if not a Perpetual) *Parliament*, if Possible (which is evident in Sir *John Temples* relation) under the Authority whereof it is probable they designed to act afterwards, rather then of a Supreame Councell, which was done here, even to the joynt prosecution of some particular Officers, as the *Earle of Strafford*, &c. 4. Their Proceedings first

to

to Confiscate and Seize the Goods of those, whom they declared Enemies to the State. 5. The persons on whom they wreak'd their Malice most, *Clergy-men* and *Officers of State*. 6. The *Cry* they writ by, or at least pretended to write by, namely, the *Scots*. 7. The backwardnesse of our *Parliament* to send any relefe thither, which was evidenced by their disputes and Punctilio's with the *King*, and indeed their denials to assist, without his perfect resignation of himselfe to them, seizing money to the summe of 100000. l. to their owne use (though indeed they have paid it since, out of the Kingdomes purse, upon the Clamour of the people, and notice given of it by the *King*) imploying such forces as were raised under that notion here in *England* against His *Majesty*, Particularly the Regiment of *Colonell Bamfield*, of *Chidley*, and others, suspending the Journey of the *Earle of Leicester* first, then of the *Lord Lisle* thither, a man of their owne Election, untill his Commission was almost expir'd, Pretending to send over succours since, but letting them lie upon the Countries, untill they become intolerable, and then disbanding them as super-numeraries, The Miseries they expose their *owne Army* there to (of which they were soundly told by *Captaine Cope* lately, who charged them in the very House *with the death of Thousands, with the Ruine of more, and with streames of Blood, which cry'd for vengeance against them in this place.*) To all which if you adde, 8. The fierce prosecution of *Strafford*, whose continuance in that place, and strict discipline would have prevented that Insurrection, or crush-ed it in the shell. 9. Their withstanding the sending of that Army out of the Kingdome which had discharged it of so many instruments of rebellion. 10. The Profession of divers of their Confidents, especially in the Army, That *they cannot fight against the Irish with a good Conscience*, That their quarrel is but to enjoy their Religion and Liberty, And 11. a speech which was uttered before this Rupture, by a true friend of theirs at *Manidowne* in *Hamp-shire*, when the *Scots* first came into *England*, What *if the Kingdome should rise for their Property and Liberty, and* Ireland *take that Advantage, what will he be King of then?* a shrewd speech, though I believe the man had no fore-sight of this Combustion, with many other Circumstances. One would verily believe, the Bustles in *England* and the Rebellion in *Ireland* were like *Castor*

and

and *Pollux, ovo prognatus eodem*, hatch'd by a *Common Counsell* of *Parliament & Irish*, and that they were mutually engaged to promote each others Interest. But we must be ingenuous, and allow them better measure, then any they have yet allowed unto their *Soveraigne*. All we aime at, is but to open to the world, that there may be full as much, or rather a great deale more charged on themselves, as to that Businesse, then upon His *Majesty*.

The Charge of Rochel.

We are now in sight of the Shoare, and shall conclude with the businesse of *Rochel, which Towne (they say) they can fully shew, was betraied by the King, and so was there a fatall Blow given to the Protestant Cause in* France; They tell us, *how he lent divers of the Navy and Merchants ships to the King of* France, *to be imployed against those, whom he was engaged to assist; And when some Commanders disputed his Commands, he gave order to Sir* John Penington *to put them into the service of that King, or else to sinke them.*

That Answered.

1. Herein they impose a blinde beleife upon us, we have little reason to take their bare word, (as we hinted before) whose Interest is to deceive us, and who have done it so oft. We never yet could discover in them any such Tendernesse, either in blasting the *Kings* Honour, or in covering their *owne shame*, as to conceale any thing, which was to their owne Advantage, or his disgrace.

2. How could his Maj. betray those whom he had never taken into Protection, as at that time he had not done by them, Are they themselves treacherous too, or have they betraied the *Hollanders*, against whom they sent divers of the Kings Souldiers taken at *Naseby* to be imployed in the *Spanish* service?

3. Though it be acknowledged, that there were ships lent unto the King of *France*, yet it was not to that purpose, to employ them against the *Protestants*; and the *King of England* was a stranger to the designe of the *King of France* therein. Q. *Elizabeth*, when that very Towne of *Rochel* was besieged by the *King of France*,

and ſome of his Subjects with the *Duke* of *Montgomery* had reliеved it, diſclaimed the Act, called them who did it, Pirates, profeſſed ſhe would not protect nor afford them any ſupply. *Camb. Eliz.*

4. *King James* in his life time had in effect promiſed aſſiſtance unto the *French King* againſt any of his Subjects, whatſoever were their Religion or their pretence.

5. The ſame thing was done by the *States of Holland* at the ſame time, who lent unto the *King of France* twenty ſaile of ſhips (whereas ours were but ſeven) under the Command of *Hauthain* their Admiral, who did in the ſame manner demur at the Imployment, (being charm'd by ſome pittifull Letters from *Rochel*) untill the *Rochellers* treacherouſly and unawares ſurpris'd and burnt his *Vice-Admiral*; which rouz'd him up in good earneſt, and made him not onely ſet upon, but wholly diſcomfit them, by the helpe of our and other ſhips. Now it is very improbable, the *Hollanders* would have conſpir'd againſt the Cauſe of Religion, and their owne Church-diſcipline, which the *French* held forth, if there had not been ſome other juſt cauſe of that War.

6. We might very well be tender in undertaking the Protection of thoſe *Proteſtants*; for it is not quite forgotten, how Queen *Elizabeth* ſent over a conſiderable Army to their Aſſiſtance, and that upon Articles between them, which Army of hers was ſet upon and beſeiged by thoſe very men, whom they were come to defend, and expuls'd out of that Kingdome, and out of *New-haven* by the help of the *Proteſtants* (who by meanes of their ſuccours had gotten the better Compoſition with their own *King*) as you may read in Mr. *Cambden* and others. Anno 1563.

7. The *King* did what was poſſible toward their releife, when he had the advantage of *Hoſtility* againſt the *King of France* (which he could not otherwiſe have done with any Colour either of Juſtice or Policy) by ſending an Army to the *Iſle of Ree*, by ſending two ſeveral Fleets to their releife. If all ſucceeded not, that ought not to be laid in his diſh. For the Meanes onely are in mans power, God keeping events and Succeſſes in his owne. The *Horſe is prepared againſt the day of Battell; but ſafety is from the Lord.* It is very certaine, he did his utmoſt endeavour; I know thoſe who will teſtifie he gave the moſt earneſt Injunction poſ-

ſible

ſible for their Reliefe, *though it ſhould prove to the endangering of his whole Fleet.* And it is obſervable, The grudge hereof hath not yet been forgotten by the Crowne of *France*, which in a ſlye Revenge hath probably helped to raiſe this Devill of Inteſtine War in our Nation, and denied all conſiderable Supplies to the *King of England*, in theſe daies of his diſtreſſe; yea, though a *Daughter* of the *Crowne* and her numerous Iſſue be involved in the ſame Calamity.

8. But to give you the beſt laſt, The truth & Ground of the whole Buſineſſe will be made very cleare, and beyond all ſcruple by this following Narrative, which I have delivered from honeſt and underſtanding *States-men.*

The *Palatinate* being wreſted from the *Palſgrave*, The *Proteſtants* in *Germany* almoſt ruinated, Our *King* unable at that time by his own ſtrength to relieve them, there was a *Leagne* propoſed and agitated between the Crowns of *France*, *England*, *Denmark*, the States of *Holland and Venice*, againſt the *Houſe of Auſtria*; and this in good meaſure was brought toward perfection, eſpecially by the managery of the *Duke of Buckingham.* The wiſe Cardinall of *France*, making advantage of thoſe Traverſes, and taking Time by the fore-top, deals with the *Duke* for ſupply of theſe above-mentioned Ships. The *Duke* being *Admiral*, and preſuming high upon his Maſters allowance, commands the Ld. *Conway*, then Secretary of State, to write to *Penington* his *Vice-Admirall* to put the Ships under the *French* ſervice, and Seales this Letter with the Signet. But *Penington* refuſing to do it upon ſuch Authority, the *Duke* himſelf as *Admirall* ſeconds the firſt Letter with his Command: which being likewiſe diſputed, a Letter was ſent with the *Kings* Name ſubſcribed, and ſigned with the *Privy-ſignet*, yet without *His Majeſties* knowledge (which was no difficulty, conſidering the Signet is uſually kept by the Secretary, and that many Blanks are uſually and muſt of neceſſity be left in truſt with great Officers, eſpecially ſo great, as the *Duke* then was) Nay, I have been informed, that the *King*, being at *Woodſtock*, when the Newes hereof was firſt imparted to him, and that by Sir *John Penington* himſelf, was in a great rage at it, and not without ſome difficulty reconciled unto the *Duke* about it.

Is it now a rationall and juſt Inference to lay the Miſcarriage

of *Rochel* upon *His Majesties* score? Have they so much Compassion toward Strangers, and so little Justice toward their own rightful Soveraign? Are they so deeply affected with the wounds given to the *Protestant Religion* through the sides of *Rochel*? Would God they themselves did not stab it ten times more desperately by these their un-Protestant, un-Christian, unparalell'd Proceedings, to the dishonour of God, the Grief and Anguish of every good Soule, the Joy and unspeakable Advantage of our common Adversary of *Rome*.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno lucrentur Atridæ.

The

The Settlement which they intend, and the Concluſion.

AND thus have we examined the truth of their *Declaration* againſt *His Majeſty*; before we conclude, It will be worth while to examine a little the truth of what they declare for Themſelves; *We ſhall uſe our utmoſt endevour to ſettle the preſent Government, as it may ſtand with the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom.* I ask, How can they ſettle the Peace of the Kingdome without a *King*? If their Hornes ſhould prove as long, as themſelves are curſt, and *God* permit them to fill up the meaſure of their Iniquities, by the acceſſion of the Murder of this *King*, which we do even tremble to mention, yet have ſome reaſon to believe they do deſigne, One of their Members having profeſſed as much, and offered himſelf a *Felon* for that fact, yet never ſo much as queſtion'd; And one *Hall*, being a Suitor for the Command of a Ship in their Navy, unto their Committee of Admiralty, was accuſed for having ſaid, *The Parliament were fooliſh, that they had not hired ſomebody to kill the King whilſt he was in the hands of the Scots*: It was thereupon replied by Sir *A. Haſlerigg*, *Have you no more againſt him? let him go to chuſe, We muſt have ſuch men as will be faithfull againſt him*; and ſince that, they gave him the Command of a very good Ship. Allow (I ſay) they ſhould be able to compaſſe this, How will they truſt the *Children* of a *Father*, in whoſe bloud they have imbrued their hands? And how will they be able to alienate the *Crowne* from that Royall Line? which

ſo many Millions of this Nation, and the beſt for Eſtate, the ableſt for Judgment, wil ſacrifice their deareſt Bloud for, being obliged thereunto by many both Sacred and Civil Bonds? which is incorporated into ſo many Kingdoms and States abroad, *Scotland, Denmark, France, Holland, &c.*

But grant, they may arrive at this *Impoßibility*; What Peace or Settlement therein can this *Kingdome* expect from their hands, who have uſed us or rather abuſed us thus, whiles as yet they ſtood but upon their *Good Behaviour*; while they were no more then *Probationers*, or *Candidates* of *Soveraignty*? Our Peace muſt be to lie down quietly under their Pawes, while they like *Harpyes* do ſnatch away the *meat* out of our Mouths, like *Vultures* feed upon our live *bodies*; whilſt (as a wiſe man ſaid, ſuch Statiſts uſe to do) they roſſe our *heads*, our very *lives* like *Tenis-balls*, to make them ſport withall. Our Settlement is like to be firm indeed, which muſt depend upon their Ordinances (a Lawyer of their own at an Aſſize could handſomely call it, *Jus Vagum & Incognitum*) one of them juſtling the other daily out of faſhion, according as the *vane* of their Humour fits. In a word, It is impoſſible, there ſhould be either *Peace* or *Settlement*, whilſt *His Majeſty* is a *Priſoner*, till there be mutuall *Condeſcendencies*, and *Proviſion* made for all conſiderable *Intereſts* on foot, which *His Majeſty* hath gratiouſly offered, and by a *Perſonall Treaty* managed with due Chriſtian temper on all hands, may through Gods bleſſing be yet accompliſhed.

The End.